THE Nation

VOLUME 145 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • NOVEMBER 6, 1937 NUMBER 19

CONTENTS

THE SHAPE OF THINGS 489

EDITORIALS:

MAYOR LAGUARDIA AND THE FUTURE 491

CASE FOR THE BOYCOTT 492

RIPE FOR TAXATION 493

1937 IS NOT 1914 by I. F. Stone 495

RIGHT TURN IN CANADA by James McNeil 497

END OF A RED-CAP by Cecil Hazell 499

"ORGANIZED MEDICINE" SEES RED by James Rorty 500

NAZI EYES TURN EAST by Henry C. Wolfe 502

ISSUES AND MEN by Oswald Garrison Villard 505

BOOKS AND THE ARTS:

WHAT MADRID READS by Barbara Wertheim 506

FRESH AND FREE by Albert Guérard 507

DEATH ON THE VELDT by Mark Van Doren 508

"LION IN THE LUTE" by Ben Belitt 508

PICTURE OF LABOR by Samuel Yellen 509

MAIL-ORDER MOVIE by Louis Kronenberger 511

SHORTER NOTICES 512

DRAMA: FAITH AND WORKS by Joseph Wood Krutch 514

DRAWINGS by LOW and John Groth

Editors

FREDA KIRCHWEY MAX LERNER

Literary Editor MARGARET MARSHALL

Associate Editor MAXWELL S. STEWART

Dramatic Critic JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

✶

Publisher

FREDA KIRCHWEY

Hugo Van Arx, Business Manager and Director of Circulation.
Muriel C. Gray, Advertising Manager.

The Shape of Things

✶

LABOR WAS A MAJOR PERFORMER IN THE elections of this week. In the LaGuardia victory (discussed on another page) the American Labor Party demonstrated that it holds the balance of power in New York City. In Pittsburgh Mayor Scully, who had C. I. O. support, was reelected. In Detroit the C. I. O. candidate for mayor failed of election, and even the two candidates for the city council who seemed sure of election were defeated; but the joyful claim of the conservatives that Detroit has "repudiated" the C. I. O. is premature. It would be much more realistic to say that in a city hitherto completely dominated by business and industry, and until a year ago notoriously open shop, a labor candidate for mayor rolled up a vote of 150,000—despite tremendous odds. There was the split in labor ranks growing out of the A. F. of L.–C. I. O. feud; there was the much-stressed neutrality of the Democratic forces, which Detroit labor helped to put into office in the last election; there was finally the fact that business and industry were so frightened at what looked like the genuine possibility of a labor victory that money flowed like water in Detroit. In Akron, where the rubber manufacturers stopped at nothing in their determination to beat G. L. Patterson, the labor candidate, he nevertheless has polled, at this writing, 28,950 votes against his Republican rival's 34,970. In Canton, Ohio, one of the fortresses of "little steel," the labor candidate was defeated two to one; but in the steel town of Clairton, Pennsylvania, John Mullen, who was labor's choice, is leading his opponent. Considering that labor took its first political steps alone only a year ago, it has no reason to be disheartened by its showing.

✶

ARE WE IN FOR AN "ERA OF GOOD FEELING" again? There was a time last week when the signs pointed in that direction; when Arthur Krock was congratulating the President on the fact that his Hyde Park visiting list no longer bristled with horrid radicals and labor leaders and crank economists but was being anointed with a good sprinkling of names in the upper tax brackets. There were reports, and they are still current, that the capital-gains tax would be repealed. The President's statement that the primary concern of the nation is still with the people who do not have enough income to pay a capital-gains tax was a thoroughly sensible comment, and has done much to dispel the "good-feeling" talk, which was more or less deliberately directed toward ending any further progres-

The NATION, Published weekly at 20 Vesey Street, New York, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter December 13, 1897, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., and under the Act of March 3, 1879. Copyright, 1937, by The Nation, Inc.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sive advance in government policy and timed for the opening of the special session of Congress. There is every indication that the special session, once it opens, will become an immediate battleground. There will be bitter feeling over the specific form of the wage-hour, farm, anti-lynching, and government-reorganization bills—feeling that is likely to increase in acrimony until it equals that of the closing weeks of the last session. But underlying the specific tensions there is the fact that events are shaping up for a big showdown on general economic and social philosophy between the Administration and its opponents both within and without the Democratic ranks. In a period of mounting recovery the President has been able to concentrate chiefly on political reforms. The slowing up of recovery and the danger of a new depression make inevitable a new emphasis on a basic economic program, which, we suspect, will also be related to an economic mobilization for the possibility of war. Thus far the President has not revealed just what the philosophy of this program will be. As soon as it is clear, we may expect Congressional fireworks.

*

PROSPECTS FOR THE NINE-POWER MEETING, which were never very encouraging, have been further dimmed by the publication of the "minimum conditions" on which Japan is willing to negotiate peace. The terms are even more severe than was anticipated. Japan insists on the "temporary occupation" of China's five northern provinces, only three of which have thus far been conquered. It also asks for the creation of a neutral zone around Shanghai which would be patrolled by an international (Japanese-dominated) police force. Complete prohibition of Chinese military aircraft is also listed in many reports as one of the essential Japanese conditions. Granted that these demands may have been considerably inflated for bargaining purposes, they nevertheless demonstrate that a just and equitable peace cannot be obtained without at least the threat of pressure against Japan. In the absence of a clear-cut plan for exercising such pressure, there is danger that the conference may make the fatal mistake of seeking to negotiate a compromise on the basis of Japan's published terms. Such a plan would not only involve a severe injustice to China, but, by legalizing the gains of Japan's war, would constitute an open invitation to potential aggressors the world over. Wars cannot be quarantined by repealing the health laws.

*

ONE RESULT OF THE MARKET BREAK WAS THE reduction by the Federal Reserve Board of the margin requirement on stock transactions from 55 to 40 per cent and the setting of a margin requirement on short sales of 50 per cent. The brokerage houses and the financial papers are rejoicing, and the Administration's left wing feels that it has suffered a defeat. Beneath the surface, however, the move is not clearly either a victory or defeat. For while the lowering of the margin requirement does operate to make the market less "thin" by bringing the small speculative investor back into the trading, and does therefore create more business for the commission-hungry brokers, the second part of the order will operate to reduce the short-selling, speculative activity. The move seems to indicate a compromise between Mr. Morgenthau and Mr. Eccles on one side and Mr. Douglas on the other, while the President has undoubtedly responded to Wall Street pressure brought to bear through Mr. Kennedy. We do not like it any more than we like the other indecisive moves of the Administration at present. But its real meaning lies in the precedent established for government action in market fluctuations. Recent SEC policy has been to create a "quality" market, basically one of investors rather than speculators, without regard to the resulting thinness of operations; and it has been also to keep government policy clear of responsiveness to market ups and downs. The Administration now finds itself committed to the task of stabilizing the market every time it takes a turn in one direction or another, a task which in the long run will involve the government in continual trouble. As part of the new emphasis the SEC will probably soon have something to say about short sales. Meanwhile it is interesting to note that the Exchange has asked the Twentieth Century Fund to make an independent investigation of the same subject.

*

HJALMAR SCHACHT HAS BEEN OUT OF THE German government for many months, but in the best Nazi circles it has not been good form to say so. Dr. Schacht himself a few days ago broke through the pretense by flatly announcing his resignation, and although Hitler has so far taken no notice of this impolite gesture, the world now knows that Schacht is no longer Minister of Economic Affairs and that he will soon stop pretending to be president of the Reichsbank. Since both functions have in effect been performed by General Göring ever since the launching of the Four-Year Plan, the importance of Schacht's formal withdrawal lies not in the effect it may have on German finances but in the state of affairs it reveals. It means plainly that anti-Schacht policies have already been carried to such lengths that the financial wizard finds himself unable to function even as a front whose "soundness" may serve as a come-on for foreign capital. In view of the wizard's record, that is eloquent testimony to the chaotic state of the Reich's economy, for he has not only performed startling feats of financial legerdemain but has proved himself politically the most adaptable of men. By rebelliously washing his hands of the "hidden inflation" and "secret debt" that characterize present-day German finance, Dr. Schacht serves notice that the Third Reich has definitely put international cooperation behind it in favor of autarchy, with all that such a policy means in the way of rigid state control of business, fever-pitch nationalism, and the craving for territorial expansion.

*

PRESS REPORTS ON THE MOROCCAN CRISIS have been unaccountably vague regarding the connection between France's colonial difficulties and Mussolini's known aspirations in the Mediterranean. That the recent Arab riots in Palestine, the nationalist movement in Mo-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

rocco, and the strikes in Syria are not unrelated may be realized only after the most careful scrutiny of dispatches. Documents seized by the French police at Fez linked the Moroccan nationalists with the Arab uprising in Palestine and indicated that the leaders of the conspiracy were operating in Egypt and Syria. While it is doubtful that the Italians are skilful or influential enough to engineer a vast pan-Arab movement of this character, their sympathy and financial connection with Arab activities in Palestine are well known. The chances are that the pan-Arab movement is entirely indigenous, but there is every indication that the strength of the movement at this particular moment is a direct result of funds supplied, as the French officials subtly express it, by a "European totalitarian power."

*

THE PEACE NEGOTIATIONS OF THE A. F. OF L. and C. I. O. seem to have produced so far nothing more enduring than fireworks. At this writing the conferences have been recessed until November 4; but last week an authorized spokesman for John L. Lewis, in an interview with Paul Y. Anderson in the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch,* cut through the wishful thinking which has surrounded the meetings. He made it pretty clear that he expected nothing in the way of constructive results. He maintained that the A. F. of L. offer to negotiate was meaningless from the start. And certainly everything that has happened so far has made it apparent that the standpatters in the Executive Council have no intention of making concessions which would allow for industrial organization, not because they object to industrial organization as such but because they object to anything that will endanger their jobs. Instead they are demanding that the C. I. O., which has fired the imagination of millions and enrolled in unions hundreds of thousands whom the A. F. of L. never made any attempt to organize, should now turn thousands of these new unionists over to the jurisdiction of labor leaders who were long ago discredited. Unity in a labor movement 7,500,000 strong is from every point of view much to be desired. Labor will have hard enough battles to fight in the next few years, especially if the present "recession" is long drawn out, without having to spend its energies on internal disputes. But peace at the price the A. F. of L. would exact would make labor even weaker than it is in its present divided state. We can think of no occurrence that would have a more demoralizing effect on labor as a whole than the dissolution of the C. I. O. Yet the A. F. of L. goes on demanding it—which is merely another indication that its desire for peace has nothing to do with the interests of labor.

*

FASCISM FEEDS ON POMP AND CELEBRATION, since it has little that is more material to offer its devotees. On October 28 Mussolini, aided by 300,000 obedient Italians, put on one of his most spectacular shows before official delegations from Nazi Germany and the Franco rump government in Spain. He was celebrating the twentieth anniversary of the March on Rome. The story that it was the March on Rome that brought him to power is one of the myths he is most anxious to propagate; it makes a heroic figure out of him and a glorious adventure out of fascism. Actually Mussolini's role was far from heroic, just as the "adventure" of fascism is best symbolized by poor unemployed Italian conscripts dying ingloriously in Abyssinia and Spain for causes that do not concern them. It is now well attested by historians that the March on Rome was for Mussolini not a march at all. His Black Shirts converged on the city after tortuous negotiations with army officers, King, and Cabinet. Mussolini himself, in the midst of preliminary rioting, remained in Milan, ready to cross the border at the least real danger. When everything was safe, he caught up with his men on a *wagon-lit* and entered Rome at their head. The whole thing was farcical, smacking more of a musical comedy in a Balkan setting than of the blight that was to settle over Europe in its wake. The commentators of the time refused to take Mussolini seriously, as they later refused to take Hitler seriously—as even now they are refusing to take seriously the threats to international peace implicit in the desperate energies of state systems whose essence lies in war and expansion.

Mayor LaGuardia and the Future

THE LaGuardia victory by almost half-a-million plurality not only marks the second successive defeat of Tammany by the combined forces of good government; it also shows dramatically the power that labor can muster in politics. Each of these results carries implications that must be soberly weighed. The morning after the day before is a good time to cast up accounts and strike a trial balance of results.

The old Tammany has undoubtedly been struck a death blow. It will never flourish again in anything like the classic grandeur of the days of Croker and Murphy. The clubhouse boys face four more long, lean years in which they will have to pay dues without getting the perquisites that go with the virtue of regularity. Nevertheless, there is a phoenix quality in Tammany that should make us wary of premature rejoicing. The old Tammany has been consumed, but a new one is bound to rise from its ashes. Now that Farley has taken the Manhattan stronghold over, we may expect that efforts will be made to consolidate the machines of the five boroughs. And it is well to remember that the "new Tammany" will have the state and federal patronage that had been denied to the old Tammany.

The state and national Democratic parties have come out of the melee rather badly. Governor Lehman and Senator Wagner have suffered a serious loss of prestige through their unnecessary foray in behalf of Mahoney. The Administration has also suffered. Despite his silence, Mr. Roosevelt's name has been used without a challenge in support of Mahoney. The defeat of Mahoney will be

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

widely interpreted, therefore, as a defeat for the New Deal. It is so only in a narrow party sense, for anyone giving a second thought to the campaign will recognize that all the genuine New Deal forces, including labor and the progressive middle-class elements, were on the side of LaGuardia because he and not Mahoney stood for the New Deal as applied to municipal policy. Nevertheless, there will be many who will not be able to summon up the needed second thought, and the Republicans will undoubtedly make political capital out of that fact.

As for labor, it will have to be reckoned with now in every important election, either as a major contender or as holding the balance of power. But in the process of moving toward political maturity, labor in New York has had to ally itself with reactionary Republican elements; it has, both wittingly and unwittingly, in wresting power from Tammany, helped to rebuild a city and state Republican machine that will prove an obstacle to all progressive action in the future. And because of its alliance with the conservative elements of the community, the American Labor Party has had to make protestations of freedom from radicalism that add up to a kind of red-baiting. Now that labor is emerging as a national political force, it will have to weigh carefully how far it is willing to be deflected from its affirmative objectives by the distortions of its enemies.

But it is not only labor that emerges now on the national scene. It is also Fiorello LaGuardia. His victory last Tuesday marks the high point of his tumultuous political career. He now joins President Roosevelt and Senator La Follette as one of the three major national figures, looking toward 1940. He has been spoken of as a possible nominee on a third-party labor ticket, but political logic points much more directly to the Republican nomination. It is true that he is anathema to the conservative Republicans, and that it took astute Kenneth Simpson's best strategy to get him accepted by the Republican clubhouse boys. But it is not they who decide the Republican national slate; it is the groups that are powerful in industry and finance. And the outstanding organ of these groups—the New York *Herald Tribune*—has been fervent in its support of him. It is true that he is of mixed Italian and Jewish blood. Ordinarily this would eliminate him from the picture at once. But these are not ordinary times, and 1940 may well present a picture of party confusion which would make even a LaGuardia eligible.

There can be no doubt that LaGuardia will not remain a local figure, hemmed in by the confines of the five New York boroughs. His whole past career has looked toward Washington, and so good a vote-getter among all groups from the extreme radicals to the extreme reactionaries is not likely to go long unexploited. His acts and views will get national attention, and every Republican possibility will have to be measured against him in vote-getting powers. What the Republicans have long needed is a man of first-rate abilities with demagogic leanings. They have one in LaGuardia.

It is becoming clearer every day that the campaign against the New Deal itself is not bringing fruitful results among either the urban or the grassroots voters. The impending reorganization of the Republicans will have to take account of that fact. There are not enough standpat conservatives in the country today to elect a Republican President. But if, as is very likely, the A. F. of L.–C. I. O. split widens in the next few years, the Republicans may stand a good chance of winning over the larger part of the A. F. of L. vote by running a candidate closely associated, as LaGuardia is, with labor. And much as the Republican leaders may distrust LaGuardia, their hunger for the fleshpots of power may be decisive.

We do not present this analysis as anything more than one of several possibilities for the political future. But it is one worth watching. An almost equally good political logic could be built up pointing toward the Democratic-Labor nomination in 1940, except for the fact that the accidents of the Mayor's present position have pitted him against the entire Democratic machine in New York State. It is possible that the Presidency is out of the question for LaGuardia, and that the governorship or a Senate seat is more likely. We hope so. Because the path by which alone the Mayor can make himself acceptable on a national scale to the Republican powers is a path we do not want to see him follow. His social views are thus far so clearly progressive that to balance them adequately he would have to translate the political opportunism he showed in his support of George Harvey into a similar opportunism on questions of social policy. And that would be a major political tragedy.

Case for the Boycott

WE HAVE been pleasantly surprised and encouraged by the widespread interest which has been aroused by *The Nation's* campaign for a boycott of Japanese goods. Little opposition of any type has been encountered. Some questions have been raised regarding phases of the boycott, however, which we feel deserve careful examination. The following list, which is not intended to be exhaustive, covers the doubts which are most frequently expressed.

Q. Will not the boycott arouse anti-Japanese sentiment and thus injure the cause of international friendship?

A. This is a somewhat tricky question in that it ignores the obligations of friendship for the Chinese people. We agree that it would be most unfortunate if America's natural sympathy for China should arouse hatred for the Japanese people, who are in no sense responsible for the war. But, properly guided, the boycott is probably the best safeguard against such a development. Inaction, or the tendency to "leave such matters to the government," is an open invitation to the jingoistic, pro-war elements to capitalize on the existing mistrust of Japan. In order to avoid this, it is necessary to show that there is a non-violent method of opposition to aggression. That this can be done successfully is indicated by the anti-Nazi boycott which, so far as we can discover, has never aroused hostility against the German people.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Q. Will the boycott not cause serious unemployment among American workers, particularly among operatives in the hosiery and textile mills?

A. This can be answered categorically in the negative. Investigation has revealed that the same workers, and to a large extent the same machines, as are now employed in fabricating silk can be utilized in manufacturing articles made from silk substitutes.

Q. But what about the dealers who have Japanese goods on hand; will they not suffer unjustly in a general boycott?

A. The various boycott organizations have made it quite clear that they are willing to allow merchants to dispose of their existing stocks if they will enter into an agreement not to purchase anything further from Japan until all Japanese troops have been withdrawn from China. Meanwhile, non-boycotters can be counted on to absorb existing stocks, which, fortunately, are small.

Q. What of the share-croppers and tenant farmers of the South? Will the boycott not injure them by reducing the amount of cotton which Japan obtains in this country?

A. Temporarily, possibly; in the long run, no. The whole purpose of the boycott is, of course, to curtail Japanese purchases of war material in this country, among which cotton is an important item. But the cotton interests of the South must not forget that one of Japan's chief ambitions in taking over North China is to develop cotton growing in the Yellow River valley to the point where Japan will no longer need to buy American cotton. As far as the boycott is concerned, the individual farmer is protected from loss by the AAA bounties and fixed government loans on the cotton crop.

Q. How can we expect American women to refuse to buy silk stockings when the substitutes are so markedly inferior?

A. While it would seem that the discomfort which American women suffer from wearing lisle or rayon hose is insignificant when weighed against the invasion of China, the practical considerations raised by this question are undoubtedly serious. The possibility of checking aggression rests very largely on the style consciousness of American women. In lieu of suggesting perfectly satisfactory substitutes, we can only say that if enough women endure the temporary discomfort of lisle and rayon, the hosiery manufacturers will be forced to market the better substitutes which are known to exist.

Q. Is it not likely that the boycott will so sting Japan's pride that it will redouble its warlike activities?

A. Psychologically this might be the effect; but, as Freda Utley pointed out in a recent issue of *The Nation*, Japan *cannot* wage war without active help from the United States and Great Britain. As the boycott is already strong in Britain, the fate of China rests very largely in America's hands.

Q. Is there not danger that the boycott will cause starvation in Japan?

A. Fortunately not. It happens that Japan, with its colonies, is self-sufficient in foodstuffs. While Japanese workers will undoubtedly be affected by unemployment and the general economic disorganization caused by the boycott, the losses suffered will be unimportant as compared with the economic burden imposed by the war itself. A number of anti-war Japanese in this country have come out openly for the boycott on the ground that a sudden breakdown in the Japanese economy is preferable to the gradual attrition resulting from continued war.

Q. Is there not danger that the boycott will so arouse Japan's hostility that it will declare war against the United States?

A. That the Japanese militarists will be angered by the boycott goes without saying, but it is fantastic to imagine that a country which is encountering the greatest difficulty in its invasion of China would declare war on the most powerful country in the world, merely out of resentment. An effective boycott would itself preclude that possibility.

Q. Is there not danger that the boycott will be the first step on the road leading the United States to ultimate military action and war?

A. This was partially answered in the reply to the question on the danger of arousing anti-Japanese sentiment. It cannot be emphasized too strongly that the boycott is a means of passive resistance, an *alternative* to military action, not a step in that direction. It is not even coercive in the sense that government sanctions may be said to be. It merely reflects the determination of the American people not to support the mass murder of thousands of defenseless Chinese men, women, and children. It is not nationalistic or jingoistic. On the contrary, it is a clear recognition of our responsibilities of citizenship in the world. Every person has the right to choose how he will spend his money. It is only his duty to see that the money is not used to further war and aggression.

Ripe for Taxation

ALTHOUGH the opening of Congress is still nearly a fortnight away, the annual Wall Street campaign for a reduction in the taxes of the "haves" is already under way. As in the halcyon days of "Coolidge prosperity" we are being told that a lowering of such taxes would so stimulate business activity that all would benefit. The much-fought-over levy on undistributed profits and the capital-gains tax have been singled out for particular attack.

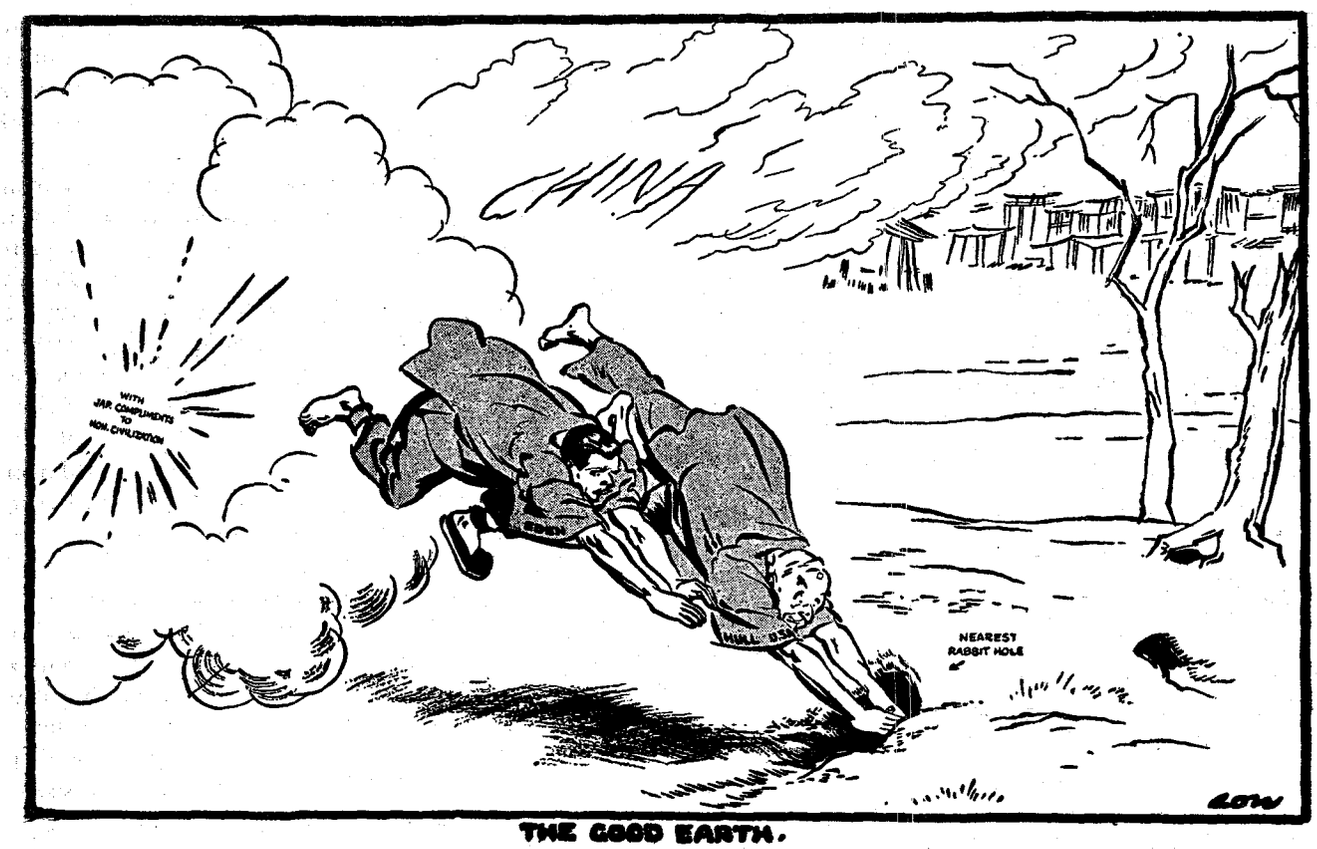
It is easy to say that Wall Street is opposed to these taxes primarily because they really pinch the well-to-do. Before the tax on undistributed profits was passed, it was customary for wealthy stockholders to evade graduated taxation by bringing pressure on their companies to withhold dividends and thus pyramid their investments. This is still done to a certain extent, but the government at least recovers a substantial share of corporate earnings in the undistributed-profits tax. Similarly, the persons most interested in a repeal of the capital-gains tax are to be found among the speculators and those who have profited most by the inflationary rise in prices in the last few years.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

But to dismiss the attack on the ground that it is motivated by self-interest is to dodge the real issue. Wall Street argues, in effect, that any tax which diminishes speculative ardor or reduces the possibility of amassing fortunes is bad for business and thereby affects adversely the economic well-being of all of us. Where a tax is levied directly on business, or operates to reduce consumer buying power, the legitimacy of this argument is obvious. We live in a capitalistic society; anything which diminishes the prospect of profit automatically discourages that expansion of business which is a prerequisite of prosperity. But it is important to note that neither the capital-gains tax nor the levy on undistributed profits in any way affects business earnings. Both taxes bear not directly upon business itself but upon the financial gains of individual stockholders and investors who would otherwise avoid taxation wholly or in part. Such individuals are not going to be less zealous in their pursuit of the dollar merely because an increased portion of their income is taken by the government. Actually, it is the alternative forms of taxation—the sales tax, the proposed lowering of the exemption from the income tax, the manufactures-excise tax, and the levy on pay rolls—which really restrict business by curtailing purchasing power.

The movement for a reduction in taxes could scarcely be more unfortunately timed in view of the immediate need for new funds to meet the cost of the Administration's farm program, to cover the expense of adequate relief, and to balance the budget. In a country as well off as the United States there can be no excuse for the government to run up a deficit in times of relative prosperity. And there can be even less justification for restricting relief and abandoning the farmer merely because certain sections of the population have improved their economic status in the last few years. It is true, as Walter Lippmann has pointed out, that the Administration has already balanced the budget if the social-security taxation is taken into account. But it has been balanced at the expense of those least able to pay by one of the most indefensible of all taxes—the levy on pay rolls.

As we have indicated in these columns on a number of occasions, the chief technical defect in our present economic system is to be found in the tendency of savings to accumulate more rapidly than the opportunities for legitimate investment. No system of taxation can be sound unless it helps to correct this fundamental maladjustment. If additional taxation is necessary, it should fall to as large an extent as possible on the groups which not only are capable of bearing the burden but would not spend the money if they were exempt from taxation. In practical terms this means the groups with incomes of between $5,000 and $100,000 annually. In 1929 this income class, constituting less than 10 per cent of the whole population, obtained 32 per cent of the total income and accumulated fully half of the total savings of the country. As a result of recent boosts in the income tax, the very rich—those with incomes of over $100,000—pay a reasonably fair share of the total taxes, but the moderately well-to-do get off more lightly than in any other country. One of the first tasks of the special session of Congress should be to remedy this weakness. No step that the government could take would do more to stabilize our faltering capitalism and head off the next depression.



THE GOOD EARTH.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

1937 Is Not 1914

BY I. F. STONE

THE opposition to American participation in efforts for collective security is sustained emotionally by the parallel between 1914 and 1937. "These same men and women who took a militant pacifist position until within the last year or two," Alfred Bingham wrote in his pamphlet "Beware of Europe's Wars," ". . . are putting their very considerable brains and influence to work to spread the idea over America that we must soon fight 'for democracy' again and once more against the same enemy, though he is labeled 'Nazism' instead of 'Prussian militarism' and his mustache is one inch long instead of four." The assumption that to be anti-fascist is to be for war against the fascist powers is unwarranted; the assumption that to be for collective security is to be for a new world war begs the question. But are three inches of mustache the chief difference between 1914 and 1937? The case against isolation does not rest upon this difference. It is nevertheless worth examination; it may not determine national policies, but it explains and justifies the attitude of most workers, liberals, and radicals to events abroad.

Fascism is not the same as Kaiserism. The Germany of 1914 was a constitutional monarchy with the most advanced social and labor legislation on the Continent and the largest Socialist Party in Europe. Its workers occupied perhaps not a privileged but at least a protected position in the state. The gains they had achieved were so considerable as to make German Social Democracy, though still learnedly revolutionary in its phraseology, reformist in its tactics and—as the outbreak of the war proved—nationalist in its outlook. The press was free, and the workers' press was powerful. It is hardly necessary to contrast these conditions with those existing in Germany today.

In the world of 1914 England and Germany strove for colonial expansion; Germany and France waited for another chance to settle their interminable and bloody accounts; the Austrian Empire watched the covert extension of Russian influence into the Balkans; England and Russia eyed each other over the borders of Persia and India; Japan and Russia felt that they would some day fight again in the Far East; Germany dreamed of Berlin to Bagdad; and all the great powers were anxious about the Bosphorus. There had just been a scramble in Africa and a crisis in Morocco. There were pan-Germans, pan-Slavs, pan-Moslems, and there was the British Empire. There was also dollar diplomacy. The time had come for the great imperialist war, although the peace movement was active and confident and, as the foundation of the Hague tribunal and the speeches of Theodore Roosevelt after Portsmouth and Algeciras showed, many saw clearly that in a world in which trade was international, law would have to be international too.

Much of 1914 is still with us in 1937; the similarities must be a warning and a guide to us in groping for the international order the world needs more than ever today. But the differences as well as the similarities must play a part in our diagnosis. In 1914 the status quo was menaced by imperialism—a world Samson, groping blindly to obtain wider fields for productive forces choked by national boundaries. The disturbing force in the world of 1937 is fascism, capitalism's misbegotten offspring, crushing individual freedom, gagging the press, extending the methods of a Pennsylvania coal-company town to whole nations, treating whites in European nations as imperialists have been accustomed to treat black, brown, red, and yellow men in "backward countries," destroying the labor unions, bringing labor and capital both under the sway of a war machine run by demagogic adventurers who plunder the capitalism they protect as a gangster plunders the merchants he forces into a "protective" association. The effect on foreign policy hardly requires repetition. A movement that uses the slogans of autarchy, self-containment, isolation so reduces domestic purchasing power as to make foreign markets all the more necessary. The war machine consumes more and more steel; the people eat less and less bread. Tightened belts at home raise the pressure for war, the classic last resort of hard-pressed dictatorships.

Imperialism bred war in 1914; fascism breeds war in 1937. But fascism makes war at home as well as abroad, on its own people as well as on the foreigner. The Germany of 1914 sought, as does the Germany of 1937, to weld Germans abroad closer to the mother country; the Germany of 1914 dreamed, as does the Germany of 1937, of a greater Germany. But the Germany of 1937 and the Italy of 1937 have new weapons. There is first the virus of anti-Semitism, a powerful national disintegrant. Injected into the democratic powers, it sets Frenchman against Frenchman, Englishman against Englishman, American against American, weakens a nation by fomenting a miniature civil war. There is, second, the bogy of communism. Fascism frightens dominant classes in the democracies with the hobgoblin, then offers them protection—at a price. Germans abroad in 1914 were a potential nucleus of spies and saboteurs, though patriotism forbade citizens of foreign countries to help them, limited their usefulness. But Germans or Italians in other countries in 1937 form a nucleus of explosive possibilities. Such nuclei can train and direct native fascist parties, as they are doing today in many Latin American countries and beginning to do in this country. They have

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

something to sell big business: a way to destroy labor unions, the hope of ending the annoyances of democracy, a method for diverting attention from real problems to imaginary ones. That the business man thus exchanges the necessity of dealing with his employees as human beings for the yoke of a magnified gangsterism should be apparent to all; fascist propaganda, nevertheless, often succeeds in glossing it over, especially in times of social crisis.

It is the top and not the bottom of democratic society which now begins to show lack of patriotism. When the German government permitted Lenin and Trotsky to go in a sealed train across Germany into Russia, it hoped to use workers and peasants tired of patriotism, czarist style, to end the war on the eastern front. But the German government of 1937 is using the "unpatriotic" potentialities not of the working class but of sections of big banking and big business against the national and imperial interests of their own countries. The cash register never did march to the front trenches, and fascism cultivates for all it is worth the innate imperviousness of money to sentiment. Is it thinkable that the Britain of 1914 would have permitted the Germany and the Italy of 1914 to do what they are doing today in Spain, or what they will do tomorrow in Czechoslovakia? A Tory government, representing Britain's ruling class of bankers, merchants, and industrialists, is betraying imperialist interests. The fear of Rio Tinto mine owners that a Spanish republic may force them to pay higher wages while a fascist-dominated Spain will conveniently rid them of labor unions proves stronger than the fear that German and Italian rather than British capital may dominate the peninsula, that imperial lines of communication in the Mediterranean may be rendered unsafe, that Great Britain's hold on the Near, Middle, and Far East may be weakened.

The menace of fascism does not represent a mere change in label or in length of mustache. The progress of technology is its ally. John Dos Passos in his introduction to Mr. Bingham's pamphlet comforts himself with the thought that the Atlantic is a "good wide ocean," but the Italian squadron that set out recently to bomb Valencia was the same squadron that flew to Chicago; what geography put asunder the Wright brothers have joined together.

The rise of fascism marks 1937 off from 1914; so does the rise of the Soviet Union. The Russia of 1914 was a decayed, semi-feudal, absolutist monarchy with faded constitutional trimmings, corrupt to its core. From this gangrenous organism exuded the characteristic odor of all dying Western civilizations—anti-Semitism. The Russia of 1937, though still in many respects absolutist, as all Russian government has been for centuries, is nevertheless the scene of the greatest social experiment of our time. Under the most difficult circumstances—lack of capital, lack of literacy, lack of international security—its ruling party is seeking to transform the most backward of the great European nations into the most advanced. The working and peasant classes of the U. S. S. R. are still poverty-stricken as compared with American, but not with czarist or Balkan, workers. There is only one party, but the introduction of the secret ballot offers workers and peasants a weapon against bureaucratic and inefficient officials and their policies. The establishment of a constitution which moves, at least formally, toward the adoption of democratic practices has been followed—after the assassination of an outstanding government official—by a hunt for and extermination of suspected dissident elements that has left the outside world bewildered. But the forces set in motion in Russia cannot permanently be halted. We all have an interest in that experiment, in its failures as well as in its achievements, for we can learn lessons from it that may save many lives and much anguish in the West. There we can see the defects of socialism as here we can see the defects of capitalism. The rise of fascism is the one stumbling-block to a policy that would seek carefully and gradually to avoid both.

The Russian Revolution likewise had its reflection in the sphere of international relations. A feudal-capitalist Russia was forced to look abroad for new fields of exploitation; its millions of ill-fed, ill-clothed, ill-housed peasants and workers were a tremendous potential market, but a market it could not tap without the overthrow of czarism. Socialist Russia, whatever its shortcomings, is too busily engaged in striving to develop its resources and industries and in raising its standards of living to need foreign adventures. Its army is defensive. Its agencies of propaganda have been muffled, as the ardor of revolution has been replaced by the desire for peace and reconstruction. The rise of fascism in Germany has led the Communist doctrinaires to abandon their intransigent position of the past—a position that helped Hitler to power in Germany—and to seek the help of democratic countries in maintaining international peace and of liberal and Socialist parties in preventing the destruction of democracy in the West under the impact of fascism.

It is true that the slogans and battle cries of this period echo those of 1914, but this does not mean that the situation is the same. The cry is again "make the world safe for democracy," but the cry has more substance behind it. No Social Democrats rise in the Reichstag to vote war credits; liberals and radicals of all nations have joined forces to aid Madrid, knowing that the barricades in Madrid also protect Prague and Paris, and even London and New York. The fascist powers have launched an international class war which they hope to make an instrument of conquest. They are a menace not only to imperial interests but to democracy itself, a possession that the rise of fascism has taught our sectarian radicals not to treat lightly. Fascism opens the way to social disorders far graver than those threatened by old-fashioned imperialism. The fascist preaches—and practices—the abandonment of the rationalism, the individual freedom, the free institutions that were capitalism's accompaniment and, with increased productive capacity, its historic justification. Fascism threatens democracy as it threatens the world's first experiment in socialism.

It may be true, as Mr. Bingham says, that "anti-Nazi sentiment in America today has become a weapon in the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

hands of the Soviet Foreign Office." It is equally true that anti-Communist sentiment, much of it directed against people who are not Communists, has become a weapon in the hands of the German Foreign Office. But the Soviets hope that anti-fascist feeling in the democratic countries will help to hold the fascist powers in check and preserve peace; the Nazis mobilize anti-Communist opinion to make war. Progressives and radicals of all shades and varieties have learned not to allow the red-baiters to split their forces at home. They must learn the same lesson abroad. Berlin does not hide its contempt for the democracies: "stupid cows" Goebbels calls them. The European democracies themselves, caught between their national interests and the pro-fascist feeling all too common among their upper classes, fumble and falter as fascism advances. Today it is Madrid. Tomorrow it will be Prague. How long before it knocks at our own doors? The experience of the Spanish republic shows that when that time comes there will be only one place to which anti-fascists can look for aid in the event that they must fight for their liberties and their lives. I shall not mention the bogyman by name.

Right Turn in Canada

BY JAMES McNEIL

Ottawa, October 15

IT WILL probably be startling news to John L. Lewis to learn that he was given a vigorous rebuff by the loyal British voters of Ontario, and that Premier Mitchell F. Hepburn, by his victory in the Ontario provincial elections on October 6, saved Canada from a surge of "American lawlessness," from a Lewis-led invasion of "foreign agitators," and even from an armed rebellion of 15,000 Communists inspired not only by Comrade Stalin but also, according to Mr. Hepburn's press, by President Roosevelt. But however spurious the issues of the campaign, the results are unmistakable. Mr. Hepburn, who has been in office as provincial Premier since 1934, was returned to power with 67 seats out of 90. His Conservative opponents carried 23 seats, an increase of only 5. The 65 labor, farmer-labor, Canadian Commonwealth Federation, and Communist candidates, running under various labels and often against one another, won not a single seat. The C. C. F., Canada's socialist party, lost its one sitting member, and but a single labor candidate, a Communist, came within sight of election.

As Ontario elects 82 of the 245 members in the federal House of Commons, the results of this swing to the right will be felt not in one province only but in the whole of Canada. Mr. Hepburn has been given a powerful claim to a decisive voice in the councils of the national Liberal Party and no mean lever with which to lift himself into the seats of the mighty at Ottawa. His strengthened position is not welcome to the national Liberal leaders, who have several times rebuffed the provincial Liberal Party, and until the final stages of the campaign no federal Liberal minister lent his aid in Ontario. Mr. Mackenzie King, the national Prime Minister and Liberal leader, must now either conciliate his rising subordinate in the party or anticipate a challenge at the next national elections some two years hence. Mr. King for the time is safely in power, but he has been leader since 1919 and Prime Minister three times. Under such circumstances Mr. Hepburn may well be ambitious to succeed him either within or without the fold of the present Liberal Party.

Mr. Hepburn's victory was due not only to improved business conditions and his ruthless use of the C. I. O. as a bogy, but to the alliance he effected between the mining-capitalist groups exploiting the north country and the farmers who control the vote in some sixty of the ninety Ontario constituencies. Improved business conditions enabled him to show buoyant revenues, a budget surplus, and lower taxation; the C. I. O. bogy served a useful tactical purpose; but Mr. Hepburn's real power came from this alliance of the mining interests and the rural vote. The farmers, who have no political organization or press of their own, were the unwitting and sleeping partners of the union, but their votes were decisive. The mining interests, with some support from the timber, pulp, and paper groups, which are owned in part by American capital, provided the necessary sinews of war for campaign expenses and newspaper propaganda.

While this alliance was the key to the victory, the campaign was based on monumental misrepresentation of Lewis and the C. I. O., beginning with Mr. Hepburn's theatrical intervention in the strike of the General Motors workers at Oshawa in the spring. The C. I. O. was presented to the public as a new "American invasion," and one newspaper solemnly compared the legal entry of international union organizers into Canada with the Fenian raids of the last century, in which a few Irish-Americans started a little war of their own on Canadian soil. John L. Lewis was portrayed as a lawless political gangster raiding the pay envelopes of the innocent Canadian workers and threatening the peace, order, and good government of Ontario and of all Canada. Everywhere the red hand of Moscow was seen, and the Premier himself stooped several times to repeat that Oshawa was to be the signal for the revolt of 15,000 Communists.

Such a campaign of conscious fabrication could not delude all the electors, and the facts slowly worked some change in Mr. Hepburn's alarmist approach. There had been no lawlessness at Oshawa or in any other industrial

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

conflict; the only violence came from the vigilantes at Sarnia who attacked 120 strikers while the police looked on. There are not 15,000 Communists in Ontario and not more than that in the whole of Canada, nor had they any share in the Oshawa strike. Finally, the provincial government has no authority over the entry of trade-union organizers into Canada, that being a matter of federal jurisdiction. These facts asserted themselves despite the overwhelming press support given to Mr. Hepburn, and in his final speeches he dwelt more on his financial record than on his anti-labor views.

But the campaign against the C. I. O., low as it was, was effective in some quarters and revealed something of the state of political opinion in central Canada. The C. I. O. bogy served to solidify the farm vote against the labor vote and, accompanied by praise of the A. F. of L., enabled Mr. Hepburn to divide the trade unions. It gave the Catholics a Communist scare to drive them to the polls and the Anglo-Saxon, ultra-British Protestants an "American invasion" to oppose. Here was a campaign worthy of the most reactionary Republicans of the United States, but "good times" and Mr. Hepburn's showmanship put it across.

Mr. Hepburn was further aided by the weak opposition of the Conservative Party—which, paradoxically enough, championed the rights of labor—and by the still weaker, more divided opposition of the labor and left forces. In many of the most favorable industrial constituencies there were two or three left candidates and no common policy, organization, or leadership. As a result, not one of the sixty-five left candidates was elected; in but a few constituencies was their total vote even comparable with that of the defeated Conservative candidates, to say nothing of the Liberal victors; and the total left vote in the province was substantially lower than it had been in the general election of 1935. This outcome calls for a serious examination of left organization and left strategy.

Mr. Hepburn had attacked the rights of labor organizations and threatened to license trade unions, to tax trade-union dues paid to international headquarters, and to exclude international organizers. But no trade-union movement took up the challenge, and only isolated individuals and trade-union locals supported any of the five or so left parties. Some thirty-odd members of C. I. O. or A. F. of L. unions ran as candidates, but they were given little or no official trade-union support. Even in those industrial centers where vigorous unions existed, the unions were officially inactive in the election, and some at least of the trade-union vote went to the Conservative Party if not to Mr. Hepburn's own candidates. In Oshawa, for example, a Hepburn candidate was victorious, a Conservative ran a good second, and a C. I. O. member, running for the C. C. F., came in third. Canadian trade-union members, perhaps, are not yet ready for political action, and it may have been wisdom on the part of the C. I. O. leadership to preserve unity even at the expense of political surrender. However, as a result a sworn enemy of the C. I. O. has become a dominant figure in Ontario and Canadian politics, and if his hostility continues, trade unions will be forced into political action to defend themselves.

The significance of the rightward swing in Ontario is given point by the circumstances in other Canadian provinces. In Quebec the government of Premier Maurice Duplessis is more reactionary than Hepburn's, and an alliance, unlikely but not impossible, between them would be a major disaster in Canadian politics. Mr. Duplessis reflects the predominant fascist, anti-progressive state of mind of French Canada. Democracy is openly attacked there, numerous weeklies display the swastika and feature anti-Semitism, and not more than one or two French papers support the Loyalist government of Spain. Mr. Hepburn has consistently wooed Catholic voters in Ontario, and a block of French-Canadian support would be essential to him if he aspired to national power. Already there have been flirtations between the two, and certain business interests in Quebec, as in Ontario, would not be averse to supporting such a reactionary alliance, especially if Mr. Hepburn were ready to consider amalgamating the private- and government-owned railway systems. But there are many obstacles to this union, and Mr. Hepburn might in the long run find it more advantageous to seek his French-Canadian support from the Liberals than from the rebel Duplessis groups in Quebec.

A Hepburn-Duplessis alliance would hasten the decay of Canada's political parties which began under the impact of the depression. A large section of the Conservative Party has broken away to form the Reconstruction Party, and there is not a strong Conservative Party in any provincial legislature or a single Conservative government. The defeat in Ontario further weakens the Conservative forces. In Alberta both the old parties, Liberal and Conservative, have fallen before Premier Aberhart and his Social Credit Party, the strength of which rests not upon the promise of $25 a month but upon the fact that Mr. Aberhart has become the uncompromising champion of the debtor groups of the West against the creditor class of the East. Wise strategy on the part of the C. C. F., which is strong in the Western provinces, may yet unleash a new surge of radical agricultural opinion that will further threaten the power of the old parties. The latter are still active, however, and are promising to pool their strength. In Alberta there is a united movement of the old parties against Mr. Aberhart; in British Columbia, despite Liberal strength, there is still talk of a united capitalist party to oppose the C. C. F. in the federal elections; and in central Canada the idea of a National Government, merging both Liberals and Conservatives, is not dead. The mining, power, timber, and transportation interests which admire Mr. Hepburn might find in him a not unwilling instrument of such a national-union movement; and he has already given credibility to this idea by seeking, before the Ontario election, a union with the Ontario Conservative leaders. To this project the national party leaders, Mr. King and Mr. Bennett, have been opposed, but a new depression, in conjunction with Mr. Hepburn's increase of power, may have consequences that now seem unlikely.

There is, on the other hand, a large if unmobilized

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

body of opinion on the left to counter such a reactionary movement. In the federal elections of 1935, 25 per cent of Canadian ballots were cast for parties advocating reforms in the capitalist system—the C. C. F., the Reconstruction Party, and the rising Communist Party. A People's Front is well below the horizon at the present time, but some of its technique will be forced upon the rival parties of the left unless they are prepared to accept in the national arena as great a triumph for reaction as Mr. Hepburn by his bogy-mongering obtained in Ontario.

End of a Red-Cap

BY CECIL HAZELL

I HAD decided to become a red-cap, and on a day off from my eighteen-dollar-a-week job I went to one of the big railway terminals in an Eastern city. It was two days before the Fourth of July, and the great station was in turmoil. Thousands of footsteps echoed and reechoed through the spacious waiting-rooms, and departing vacationists jammed the outer concourse. Sweaty, baggage-laden red-caps elbowed their way through the crowds. Some of them were familiar figures —limping, bunion-footed old men, treading gingerly, straining at heavy leather. One very old man—he must have been eighty—dazed and slow-moving, appeared to have lost entirely his sense of direction and was buffeted around by the crowd. Younger and sprightlier men were weaving their way to parcel room and taxi stand. Others, perhaps the lazy ones, lounged indifferently on the outskirts of the crowd.

A panting six-footer, lathered in sweat, loomed alongside. Crystallized particles of salt glistening in irregular traces on his uniform showed where the perspiration had dried. I asked him where to go to see about getting a job as a red-cap and he directed me, between heavy puffs, to the station-master's office. I spoke to a clerk there who frowned and told me brusquely that I would have to wait. I sat looking through a window at the teeming crowd on the concourse, thickly dotted with red-caps, and tried to figure out just what my takings at a dime or quarter per bag would amount to. Certainly it would be more than the eighteen dollars I was getting.

A rotund, red-faced official, the station-master, waddled into the room, and the clerk told him what I wanted. With a smirk he sent me to the Negro red-cap chief in an office on the lower concourse. The chief was sitting at a desk, sphinx-like and sweating. He eyed me indifferently, but when he learned my business he told me affably enough to "kuntak Potah 449," who would fix me up.

When I found Porter 449 our interview was brief. I was instructed to produce $25 and keep my mouth shut. The idea of buying the job was revolting, but after thinking it over I felt that the price might be reasonable after all, and early next morning, weighted down with half my rent money, which I was sure I could replace by the end of the week, I contacted Porter 449 again, this time in a phone booth. He grinned as I turned over the money to him and helped me find a second-hand uniform and cap. He took my address and gave me a numbered badge, with the warning: "Membah, fellah, on dis heah job 'de passingah's allus right.'" Then he led me to the locker-room.

The locker-room, a stench-ridden, windowless cavern on the lower level, accommodated four hundred Negroes. It was crowded with men. Some were sleeping soundly, others jabbering loudly; some were naked, about to put on uniforms or street clothes. High-smelling socks stiff with dirt, sweaty shirts draped over the backs of benches, cockroaches cavorting on the littered floor. In the reeking germ-laden air I was actually afraid to breathe. Yet no one seemed to mind, and soon I too got used to the awful place.

Adjoining a stinking lavatory where two toilet bowls served four hundred red-caps stood a "Hole in the Wall" cook-shop, and it was here that Porter 449 advised me to eat and to guzzle corn liquor, as the place was under the supervision of the clique he represented.

I had become a red-cap, and soon I was escorting passengers to trains from the cabstand, picking up jobs in the waiting-rooms, in the concourse, everywhere. My pockets bulged with dimes and quarters. Passengers "Georged" and "Samboed" me, as I had heard them "George" and "Sambo" others. As the day wore on business increased. Late into the night we were held on duty. I shall never know how many passengers I put on wrong trains that first day, but that was their hard luck. Many complaints were lodged, but since passengers almost always neglected to note their porter's number nothing happened.

At ten o'clock that night the day watch was relieved, after sixteen hours. This was one of the "get-away" days for red-caps—the eve of a national holiday. On such days money was there for the taking. Down in the locker-room men with dislocated and swollen arches swore at the Creator for making them black. Men with murmuring hearts gasped faintly and inhaled air that was poison to the lungs. Others, racked with pain, nursing abdominal ruptures and wrenched backs, slumped in misery on the hard benches. Here and there the iron men among us were dolling up for a big night at the uptown dance halls. But all of them would have to report at six-thirty next morning or face suspension. Working a double shift on one day was no excuse for tardiness the next.

My wife had grown nervous over my absence—like other red-cap wives she soon learned that at holiday time

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

she should look for me only when she saw me—but when at last I crawled home and spread my silver pile on the table, she counted $14. I told her to wake me at five o'clock, and without even taking a bath crept into bed with every joint afire. I never again earned $14 in any one day, but I was satisfied that my $25 had not been badly invested.

The Negro officers, the only paid men in the set-up, saw to it that the black hundreds under them toed the mark; and they lived up to the traditions of their overseer ancestors. Old and young alike hustled to meet their obligations. Uniforms had to be paid for, and the prices fluctuated with the needs of the cabal of grafters who, under the protection of the station-master, ruled over us. The monthly dues of a dollar for insurance against death and sickness had to be met, and in addition we were forced each week to sacrifice a day to the system. On his "street-duty" day a red-cap stationed at transit exits, where public porters solicited, could earn practically nothing. Negroes from all the black areas of the globe carried bags. Doctors, lawyers, and preachers herded with crooks, confidence men, and convicts to serve the traveling public.

For seven years I carried on, serving a public for whom red-caps always grinned. I saw youths, buoyant with hope, working alongside their fathers, soon converted into liquor-heads. I saw porters made to pay a second time for uniforms for which they held receipts. I saw red-caps lose a day's pickings for being five minutes late, and the same men held over at other times for hours, to satisfy the whim of some job-nursing official. I saw company doctors issuing the same pills for hernia as for heart trouble. I saw station detectives receiving protection money from Porter 449, czar of the racket, and I saw porters dismissed for possessing "numbers slips."

Then suddenly the black mantle of the depression covered the land. The unsalaried red-caps were hardest hit, though there were salary and staff reductions all around. The cabal tightened up, and to balance its budget worked out a new plan: Fire fifty. Then hire fifty others at $25 each. Net profit $1,250. Among the first fifty were counted the honest, the indifferent, the infirm, and next to my name on the list of those headed for the street appeared that of the old man.

The fifty on the list left for home and the bread lines—all but the old man, to whom the depot had become existence itself. His fingers, curved and semi-rigid from half a century of bag gripping, could adjust themselves to nothing else. His insurance premiums forfeited through dismissal, homeless and penniless, the old man haunted the scene of his labors for several days. Snatching at bags to which he was now no longer entitled, waving at taxis as they roared into the terminal, shuffling aimlessly across the path of hurrying passengers, the veteran was finally barred from the depot. In despair he wandered along the street aimlessly and finally threw himself under the wheels of a car rather than face the uncertainties of a bread line. As for me, I discovered that relief rations were more appetizing than the hash poked out to me from "The Hole in the Wall."

"Organized Medicine" Sees Red

BY JAMES RORTY

IN THE very shadow of the White House "socialized medicine" has again raised its ugly head, and the vigilantes of "organized medicine" have sounded the alarm. During the week of October 25 the Group Health Association of Washington, D. C., opened the doors of its group clinic to almost a thousand employees of the Federal Home Loan Bank, the initial membership representing about two-thirds of the Washington staff of this particular New Deal agency. In return for a check-off of their salaries of $2.20 a month for individuals and $3.30 a month for families, the Group Health Association contracts to give its members complete medical care, both preventive and curative but with emphasis on prevention, plus hospitalization for twenty-one days when needed. The corporate and administrative set-up of the association is modeled closely after the highly successful Stanacola Health Association of Baton Rouge, Louisiana, and the declared motives of the Home Loan Bank administrators in fostering the enterprise are as frankly practical as those of Standard Oil executives.

The director of the FHLB made this very clear in a paper read on October 5 before the Civil Service Assembly at Ottawa, Canada. What stirred the FHLB into action was its discovery that it was losing about half a million dollars annually through the sickness and lost time of its 16,000 employees in Washington and elsewhere. Since the FHLB, unlike many other New Deal agencies, has to pay its own way and compete with other dealers in mortgages and real estate, Mr. Zimmerman, the director, and his associates decided that they could not permit this loss if it could be prevented. In addition, the FHLB, still keeping well within the pattern of hard-boiled business motivations, wanted to attract and keep desirable employees by becoming known as a "good employer." The logic of these considerations suggested the establishment of the familiar group-practice, group-prepayment type of health service, organized and administered cooperatively by the patients it is designed to serve, but with strict medical control of medical functions. As Mr. Zimmerman pointed out, experience has shown that families with incomes of less than $3,000 cannot and do not budget the unequal and unpredictable costs of medical care, but the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

higher ranks of skilled workers and white-collar employees are able to insure voluntarily against these costs, just as they insure against fire, burglary, and automobile liability. They can also take advantage, through cooperative organization, of the substantial economies and efficiencies yielded by group medical practice.

When the idea was broached last spring at a meeting of the FHLB employees, they approved it enthusiastically. Accordingly, expert advice was obtained from the Health Economics Association, an offshoot of the Twentieth Century Fund, and the Group Health Association was incorporated under the laws of the District of Columbia. About a thousand employees were enrolled, a highly qualified medical director was obtained in the person of Dr. Henry R. Brown, formerly chief of the tuberculosis division of the Veterans' Administration, and a staff of six physicians was engaged on full or part time.

If there is any red fire in any of this, it takes a special kind of magnifying eye to see it; such an eye, in short, as the American Medical Association has consistently turned on all developments looking toward fundamental change in the organization of medical care. As it happened, the A. M. A. held its 1937 convention at Atlantic City just about the time that the Group Health Association was being organized. From this convention, signalized by the A. M. A.'s belated discovery of birth control and the mildy progressive but instantly emasculated resolutions introduced by the New York delegation, the lay public got the impression that "organized medicine" was trying to improve its manners, at least, and possibly even its methods and attitudes. But the *New York Medical Week* of June 19 poured cold water on this optimism. And in the *Journal* of the A. M. A. of July 3 Dr. Fishbein made the defense of the status quo authoritative by affirming again the A. M. A.'s "ten commandments," adopted in 1934, which condemn both voluntary and compulsory health insurance and indeed almost any creative change in the organization of the health services.

In the light of subsequent developments it is clear that the seeming liberalism of the 1937 convention was either window-dressing or an abortive palace insurrection stemming from the group of progressive physicians mobilized for the American Foundation study, "American Medicine: Expert Testimony Out of Court." For while the convention was still in session the House of Delegates got wind of the organization of the Group Health Association and promptly went into executive session. Alarums! Tocsin! In Washington the telephones of Senators and Congressmen began to ring. What was the Group Health Association? Please get us all information regarding this new threat to the preservation of rugged medical individualism.

The statesmen tried but were told that Dr. Brown, who alone could answer their questions, was traveling in the West. So determined was the pressure of the medical hierarchy, however, that Senator McCarren at first threatened a Congressional investigation of the FHLB. Later, when the facts of the case were put before him, he changed his mind. Some of the harassed statesmen are in fact reported as muttering—off the record, of course, like the doctors who contributed to the American Foundation symposium—that the A. M. A. itself might benefit from a little investigation.

But the vigilantes of "organized medicine" were not easily balked. They found a sympathetic ear attached to the dependably reactionary head of David Lawrence, who in his column in the New York *Sun* of August 26, 1937, declared:

> Physicians throughout the United States will be interested to learn of the New Deal's latest experiment, which may prove the entering wedge for "socialized medicine" in America, sometimes called the placing of medical care on a "quantity-production" basis. . . .The new organization [Group Health Association, Inc.] . . . is directly in line with what has been urged by persons inside the Administration who see the job possibilities and patronage potentialities of medical bureaucracy in the government. . . .The way "socialized medicine" would develop would be to discourage younger men from going into the medical profession and take away from those who have built up a practice many of the patients who ordinarily come to them. . . .

Besides these and other profundities which Mr. Lawrence offered as his own contribution, he quoted a number of American, British, and German doctors in criticism of compulsory health insurance, while chastely withholding from his readers the overwhelming evidence that health insurance abroad, despite its admitted defects, has on the whole immensely improved the condition of both patients and doctors.

Mr. Lawrence's alarm focuses on a provision of the Group Health Association's by-laws which permits it to recruit as members not only employees of the Federal Home Loan Bank and the Home Owners' Loan Corporation but also "employees of any branch of the United States government service . . . other than officers and enlisted men of the United States army and navy," in case this enlargement of its scope is approved by the board of trustees and by the membership.

A similar apprehension afflicts the A. M. A.'s Bureau of Legal Medicine and Legislation, which contributes to the October 2 issue of the *Journal* an eight-page bitterly hostile analysis of the Group Health Association. Eventually, the bureau asserts, the association might come to serve some 115,912 government employees and their families resident in Washington or within ten miles of the city limits. Presumably if this happened it would be because the Group Health Association served well the needs of its members and offered salaries and conditions of employment sufficiently good to attract and hold a competent medical staff. It would mean only that the Group Health Association was doing a better job than, for example, the so-called "Washington plan" set up by the District Medical Society. The latter is little more than a medical collection bureau, designed to assist poor patients in paying their doctors on the instalment plan. Thus far the Medical Society's enterprise has solved no problem and satisfied nobody except some of the participating doctors.

In its attack on the Group Health Association, the Bu-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

reau of Legal Medicine and Legislation relies chiefly on its version of the law as it affects the conduct of a membership corporation, the practice of "corporate medicine," and the like. According to its interpretation of the law the Group Health Association is illegal. At one point the article went so far as to say:

> If and when Group Health Association begins to practice medicine as proposed in its certificate of incorporation and by-laws, the United States district attorney and the corporation counsel for the District of Columbia, in pursuance of their respective offices that they have sworn to perform, will be bound to enforce the law.

The bureau intimates that the members of the association may find themselves personally responsible for its debts and torts, and it pretends to find a further illegality in the check-off system as applied to the salaries of government employees.

Since the Group Health Association has had able legal advice, and since similar enterprises—the Stanacola Health Association, for example—have not been successfully challenged despite the tangled statutes which in most states beset the path of pioneers in voluntary health insurance, the bureau's magisterial pronouncement is probably bluff. If history repeats itself, our medical politicians will do little more than make life hard for both President W. F. Penniman of the Group Health Association, who incidentally is assistant administrator of the Federal Home Loan Bank, and Dr. Brown and his medical staff, to the extent even of expelling them from the District Medical Society for "unethical conduct." But this has been endured before by other pioneers and presumably can be endured again. The question that is immediately posed is whether or not the American Medical Association will be permitted to veto a progressive and commendable enterprise by an important New Deal agency, an enterprise designed simply to assist its employees in their effort to provide themselves with protection against illness by methods not essentially different from those which the more enlightened private employers have successfully utilized for years.

Nazi Eyes Turn East

BY HENRY C. WOLFE

THE republic of Czechoslovakia has become the key to Central Europe. This landlocked state which Bismarck called "a fortress erected by God" in the heart of Europe is democracy's first line of defense against the Nazi thrust down the Danube. Indeed, we might say democracy's only line of defense. Its political and strategic importance can hardly be overemphasized. The Iron Chancellor went so far as to say that "whoever is master of Bohemia is master of Europe."

If the Third Reich can destroy the Czechoslovak democracy, the road will be open for a rapid Nazi drive down the Danube into Hungary, into Rumania and Bulgaria, into Greece, and toward the Golden Horn. The oil which Germany needs so desperately for its industrial and military machines, the grain, meat, and dairy products that it must have to feed its expanding population, the timber, iron ore, and copper essential for its economic self-sufficiency—all these will be within reach once Czechoslovakia is conquered. Bohemia is the first objective of the Nazi *Drang nach Osten.*

That Hitler has turned his eyes definitely to the East is certain. He has taken a defensive position on the Rhine, an offensive position on the Danube, the Niemen, the Vistula. One of the first moves in the push to the East is to isolate Czechoslovakia. A significant step toward that end was taken when Hitler declared last January that the Reich would respect Holland's territorial integrity. In February the Führer followed that declaration by an interview with Edmund Schultess, former president of the Swiss Federal Council, in which he said that "Switzerland's existence is a European necessity" and that Germany would respect Swiss neutrality. But the longest stride was taken just recently, on October 13, when the Reich formally guaranteed the territorial integrity and neutrality of Belgium. Germany would conciliate British opinion by promising to let the Low Countries alone. The motives behind these three declarations were the same—the Reich's desire to narrow its military front in the West, to hamstring France, and to reassure Britain.

Remilitarization of the Rhineland and the new agreement with Belgium have vastly enhanced German defensive power along the western frontier. The Nazis can boast that the French army is a "prisoner in its own country." Many observers agree that developments of the past two years make the French task of supporting Czechoslovakia an enormous problem. Franco's appearance on the Pyrenees frontier and Mussolini's belligerence in the Mediterranean complicate French military problems and play into the hands of Hitler. They aid the Third Reich's push to the East.

Hitler's relations with France combine assurances and threats. On September 5 Rudolph Hess, the Führer's deputy, banned the old German marching song, "Victorious we will defeat France!" This was an obvious move to allay French suspicions of Nazi Germany. At the same time Nazi agents in Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, and Syria were stirring up unrest against French authority. While Hitler assures France that it has nothing to fear from the Reich, Göring builds up his huge air fleet as a menace to Paris.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The anti-Communist pact signed by Germany and Japan on November 25, 1936, was another important maneuver in the Nazi strategy to isolate Czechoslovakia. Still another was the creation of the Berlin-Rome axis. German-Italian efforts to weaken the Little Entente, to paralyze the Rumanian government, to drive a wedge between Prague and Belgrade, were all moves in the grand offensive which the Reich is preparing against Central Europe's "island of democracy." When Mussolini paid a state visit to Germany in September, more was involved than a theatrical welcome that might have warmed the heart of a Roman Caesar. Behind the cheering throngs and military reviews *Realpolitik* was dividing Europe into fascist spheres of influence. Czechoslovakia was being allotted to the Reich; the Duce was receiving his *quid pro quo* in Spain.

As the Czechs have a mutual-assistance pact with the Soviet Union, one of the moves in isolating Czechoslovakia has been the effort to cut off possible aid from the U. S. S. R. Here Japan's ambitious policies on the Asiatic mainland have served the Reich by forcing Moscow to concentrate its attention on the Far Eastern front. Moreover, by the terms of the Berlin-Tokyo pact both governments are bound to "take strict measures against those who, at home or abroad, directly or indirectly, are active in the service of the Communist International or lend a helping hand to its disruptive work." Whenever, therefore, the Reich decides to "put down communism" in Czechoslovakia, Japan is bound by this pact to support the move by diverting the Soviets' strength from their Central European ally.

Diplomats and political agents of the Third Reich have been working skilfully in Europe, Asia, and Africa to destroy League authority, to sabotage security pacts, to detach Prague's allies. Five days after the new German pledge to respect Belgium's neutrality, the coordinated Nazi press launched a violent attack on Czechoslovakia. With Europe's attention concentrated in Spain and China, the Reich felt that the time was ripe for an "incident" in Bohemia. The "incident" was staged on October 17 at Teplitz-Schönau, in the area occupied by Sudeten Germans. It is fairly clear from the riotous actions of the Heinlein followers and their provocative attitude toward the Czech authorities that the affair was planned by the Nazis. Henlein and his followers are so well disciplined that any serious demonstration would not be made without the approval of the men in Berlin who are directing Sudetendeutsch political activities.

A German clash with Czechoslovakia just at this time serves a number of Nazi purposes. It acts as a gauge for measuring the probable degree of French and Russian opposition to German designs against the Czechs. It tests the strength of Czech resistance to the Reich's demands. Most important of all, it may frustrate the "Hodza plan," a scheme of Vienna and Prague to create a Danubian confederation consisting of five or more nations as an anti-Nazi barricade. When the Nazi press thunders at Czechoslovakia and denounces a "barbarous provocation" that the Reich "does not propose to tolerate," the purpose is not merely to impress the German public and Prague officialdom. A threat is also intended for the men who direct the foreign policies of Austria, Hungary, Rumania, and Yugoslavia. Warning is given these governments that ties with Czechoslovakia are a distinct liability, that an alliance with Prague will bring them into conflict with the Third Reich.

Konrad Henlein recently wrote a bold letter to President Benes demanding immediate autonomy for the German-speaking districts of Czechoslovakia. Failure to grant this demand, Herr Henlein warned, would endanger not only the internal peace of Czechoslovakia but the peace of all Europe. As the "Führer of Sudetenland," Henlein claims to speak for the three and a half million Teutons in Czechoslovakia, nearly 25 per cent of the republic's population. About a third of the Sudeten Germans, however, are opposed to National Socialism. This year three small German activist parties—the Christian Socialists, the Social Democrats, and the Agrarians—joined hands with the Czechoslovak government. They are definitely anti-Nazi.

The contiguity of Sudetenland with the German frontier makes contact between the Reich Nazis and Henlein's Nazis a simple matter. At the same time the presence of large numbers of Nazis inside their frontier renders the Czechs' defense problem extremely difficult. Whenever Berlin's rulers decide that the time has come for military intervention in Bohemia, all the human material is on hand for a Henlein explosion that will start a Nazi putsch. The boast of the Reich press that "the Sudeten Germans know that the whole German nation is behind them" does not contribute to unity in Bohemia.

In August, 1936, President Benes told me that Czechoslovakia could have a non-aggression pact with Germany provided he was willing to break his pact with the Soviet Union and grant autonomy to the Teutonic districts. But the Czechs realize that such autonomy would be a Nazi wooden horse brought into their country, that it would be the beginning of the end of Czechoslovak independence. When the last "opposition" party in the free city of Danzig was dissolved by the Nazis on October 21, the Reich demonstrated in just what manner Sudetendeutsch autonomy would work.

When I talked with Dr. Alfred Rosenberg in his private office in Berlin on September 23, he dwelt on Germany's need for an *Absatzgebiet,* a territory that would form a reservoir of raw materials and an outlet for surplus population. The Reich, he said, had to have "colonies" that could not be cut off from Germany in case of war. When I reminded him that access to overseas colonies could easily be cut off by stronger naval powers, he intimated that the word "colonies" did not necessarily mean colonies in Africa or Asia. Rosenberg, who is head of the foreign-affairs department of the National Socialist Party and was designated at the Nürnberg congress as the "prophet laureate" of Germany, certainly speaks with as much authority on foreign affairs as anyone in the Reich after Hitler. When he spoke of the necessity of a German economic drive down the Danube into the Balkans, he was voicing official Nazi policy. When he spoke of Germany's "historic right to develop the Balkans," he

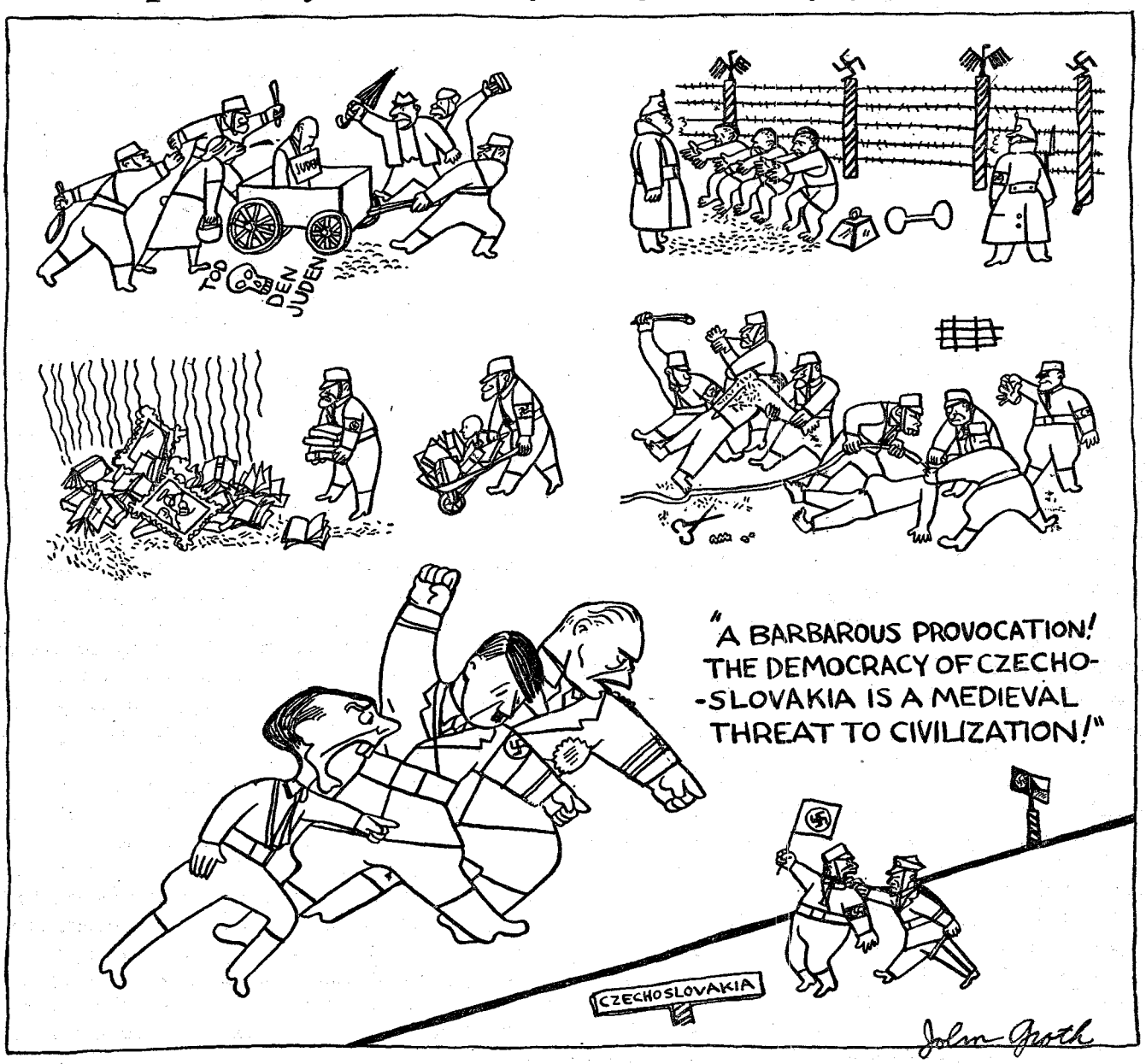
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

was expressing views that we shall hear with increasing frequency.

The most significant point that Rosenberg brought out in our conversation came in connection with the attitude of Britain and the United States toward his plans for expansion. "Our penetration of the Balkans," he told me, "does not bring us into conflict with British and American interests." In fact, he added, it is really to the advantage of the British to have the Reich concentrate its energies in the Balkans rather than elsewhere. Give it a free hand in the Balkans—everything south of Germany is "the Balkans" to the Nazis—and Germany will stay out of the British and American economic preserves. Herr Rosenberg's view of the matter is not entirely lost on London. On the day of the Teplitz-Schönau riot Henlein made a speech in which he proclaimed that on a recent visit to London he found "widespread sympathy" for the Sudetendeutsch movement. "The sympathies which the Czechs enjoyed three years ago are now on our side," he told his followers. Allowing for Herr Henlein's exaggeration, it is a fact that publicists like Lord Rothermere and J. L. Garvin have made considerable progress in their efforts to influence the British government to abandon Czechoslovakia to the Reich.

The first phase of the Nazi campaign to break up the Czech state, the political maneuvering to isolate the victim, is about over. When the next step will be taken will depend on the attitude of London, Paris, and Moscow, on the progress of Göring's economic autarchy, on von Blomberg's army, and on events in the Far East and the Mediterranean. Of one thing, however, we can be certain. Czechoslovakia has entered on a period of trial and tribulation. It is slated to be the first nation to fall beneath Hitler's chariot wheels in his *Drang nach Osten.*

Champions of Minority Rights—by John Groth



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Issues and Men

BY OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

"WHAT is the use of the Brussels conference? All its members will do is to talk and talk and get nowhere, just like the Non-Intervention Committee in regard to Spain. At best they will pass a few resolutions and then adjourn. Unless you are willing to back up your opinion by acts, it is all perfectly futile." This is the sort of thing I hear on all sides. I deny its correctness, for I have not lost faith in the power of moral indignation to limit and control international wrongdoing if it is properly directed and adequately expressed. But whether I am right or wrong I do not see how any intelligent man can deny that it would have been a genuine misfortune if the world's sense of outrage at what Japan is doing in China had not been voiced by someone in high authority. Only Franklin Roosevelt could have done it, and he did it admirably. It shook up the dictators, startled their kept newspapers, and worried them so that they are today saying that the United States will do nothing at Brussels except "proffer good advice." The German press expresses earnest hopes that there will be a "retreat from Chicago" and that the "Wall Street crash" and something they call "the revolt against Roosevelt" will keep the United States from urging a strong line of action. Their hopes betray their fears. The more the President directs a verbal barrage against the dictators the more uncomfortable those rascals will be.

As for the conference itself, my guess is that it will first of all try to get the Japanese to join it, and if it fails in that, will urge them to state just what their objectives in China are. It is impossible to look farther ahead at this moment. This is a case where the policy will have to be developed step by step. I admit that it is extremely unfortunate that the United States is not to be represented at the conference by a man of force and ideas. Mr. Davis has a pleasant personality and easy Southern manners which make him an agreeable companion and doubtless of use when it comes to toning down acrid discussions, smoothing ruffled feathers, and generally playing an ameliorating role in such a gathering. But he has never yet displayed vigorous leadership or advanced constructive suggestions. I can think of at least twenty-five men who would do better; indeed, I feel that this conference is so vitally important that Mr. Hull himself or ex-Secretary Stimson should have represented the United States.

Let us suppose that the Japanese refuse mediation but allow the world to know on what terms they will make peace. If their terms are such as have been telegraphed from China—at least three Japanese-controlled states similar to Manchoukuo, and a prohibition of China's having an army, navy, or air fleet—we may be certain of a world-wide outburst of further indignation at Japan. How little its statesmen have learned! One would think, after the failure of the Allied and American efforts to disarm Germany, that no sane man would advocate a similar folly elsewhere in the world, but there the proposal is. It can be stopped by a united front at Brussels, if only because its denunciation by eight powers would make it impossible for China to accept. China must not be allowed to yield. What will come after that no man can forecast. Whether there will be governmental boycotts or spontaneous boycotts among the several peoples such as are now being engineered no one can guess. Then will come the danger of actions which may lead to war. But the fact that we cannot see all the way is no reason why we should not essay the road at least as far as the first turn.

The world's situation can be put in a few words: We know that force heals and corrects nothing; that war leaves only worse evils in its train than those it sought to eradicate. We know that the victors in a war pay as high a price as the vanquished. We have the word of conservative leaders like Hoover, Coolidge, and Stanley Baldwin that armaments do not insure freedom from wars but lead to them, and that the cost threatens bankruptcy to all the nations in the armament race. We know that the world is arming as never before. In addition, we are all aware of the existence of three brigand nations whose pledges no man can trust. That is the situation. What shall we do about it?

Those cynics who believe only in force or who think that international disaster is inevitable are for placing all their faith in more weapons and more wars. Those persons everywhere who feel it incumbent upon them to try to free the world from this dreadful circle in which it is caught of ever more armaments and ever more wars and ever greater suspicion and hostility believe that every avenue short of war must be tried. Brussels is one way—the rallying of what is left of the moral opinion of mankind against at least one aggressor state. If it fails we shall be no worse off. And even in failure, I believe, there will be some gain. Lose faith in the weapons of the spirit? Not I. Having seen the utter failure of mass murder to right wrong or advance the human race one iota, I am more than ever a believer in passive resistance, in spiritual revolt, in the castigation of offenders by the most immoderate language and by non-intercourse. I know and hear of no better way. On what side do you wish to fight, friends? With those who worship might and barbarism or those who stand with the angels and have an abiding faith in human nature and a better world?

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

WHAT MADRID READS

Madrid, September 24

"AND so Puss-in-Boots made the miller's son into a marquis and he married the Princess Violet Ink, the daugher of the king of that country who was called Saxofon XIII. Soon afterward the king died from having eaten a rice pudding made of pearls instead of rice and the miller's son inherited the crown. But he kept his promise to Puss-in-Boots and published a royal decree handing over the country to the workers. Then the workers of all classes formed a council and elected a president of the republic. And they gave the crown to the dentists to make gold fillings for the poor people who had lost their teeth."

So runs the Madrid, 1937, version of the old fairy tale. Little Red Riding Hood, too, has suffered a war change. She has become a worker in a chocolate factory. After her tragic end her fellow-workers get together and kill the wolf and chase all his rich and powerful friends out of the country forever. But Madrid's literature has become Marxist only in spots. The army, which through the efforts of the Cultural Militia, is learning to read as fast as it is learning to fight, has an extraordinarily eclectic literary taste. At the Escorial, where the Third Division is in training, the soldiers' library contains a collection of works ranging from Homer to Elinor Glyn, the latter, it should be added, represented by "La Filosofia del Amor." Among the authors in between are Plato, Sophocles, St. Augustine, Spinoza, Francis Bacon, Descartes, Machiavelli, Shakespeare, Rousseau, Kant, Victor Hugo, Dostoevski, Marx, Henry George, Freud, Jules Verne, Lenin, Galsworthy, Ortega y Gasset, Dos Passos, García Lorca, and Sinclair Lewis.

At the rear the effect of the war on the printed word is apparent everywhere. It is dark inside the big bookstore on the Gran Via because all the windows have been blocked up with sandbags. But it is not too dark to see the blaze of civil-war literature spread out on the front tables. Because prices must meet hard times, most of it is in the form of paper-backs and pamphlets. But the covers are vivid and striking. Raised fists, broken chains, and bombs bursting. Guernica in flames proclaims "the torch of fascism"; Marx's beard flows over innumerable volumes; the sandaled foot of the Spanish worker crushes the swastika; Stalin's profile is uplifted to a fleet of conquering airplanes; Lenin's fist pounds the table; Durutti, the fallen Anarchist hero, summons Spanish comrades to victory. Soldiers, for the most part, are buying these books, for the trenches have been fertile soil for the growth of political curiosity.

But behind the front tables the regular stock is still displayed and still sought. You can find "El Mundo de Guermantes" of Proust, "La Montaña Magica" of Thomas Mann, "Contrapunta" of Aldous Huxley, and the collected works of H. G. Wells, Pierre Loti, Oscar Wilde, Jack London, the last a tremendous favorite.

Second-hand books are sold in stalls and from push-carts in the streets. As the war literature has not had time to simmer down to the second-hand stage, the civil war is ignored here as completely as if the book-stalls were in Fourth Avenue or Fifty-ninth Street. You find chiefly dime novels, detective stories, and Mexican "Westerns." Edgar Wallace, E. Phillips Oppenheim, S. S. Van Dine, and James Oliver Curwood lead the field in translation. I did see two books on Russia, but they could hardly be said to indicate a trend. One, with a picture of Lenin on the cover, was "Santa Rusia" by Jacinto Benavente. The other was "Esplendor y Ocaso de los Romanof" ("Glory and Decadence of the Romanoffs") by Ana Wyrubova, "la favorita de la Zarina."

Newsstand dealers have found it necessary to move so often because of the shelling that they no longer have permanent stalls. Newspapers and magazines are spread out on the sidewalks or on soap boxes. At first you are surprised to find the smooth-paper movie, fashion, theater, and art magazines still displayed. Looking closer you find they are pre-war issues, and the news-dealer tells you that all the smooth paper was imported and is no longer obtainable. Katharine Hepburn's portrait adorns the July, 1936, issue of *Cinelandia,* the last movie magazine to be published in Spain.

In the place of the luxury reviews a number of thin but lively weeklies have sprung up, each dealing in its own fashion with some aspect of the war. Some are political, some satiric, some pictorial, some literary. The paper is sleazy, the ink smells, the print comes through on the wrong side, but the writing is vigorous. A favorite subject of the caricaturists is Queipo de Llano with his Kaiser Wilhelm mustache and his bottle. Known as the "Lion of the Subway" because of his preference for the rearguard, he is generally shown swaying uncertainly before the microphone. Parodies of his nightly broadcasts from Seville accompany the sketches.

For photographers the war is a golden opportunity. *Life* would envy the series in the rotogravure weekly *Cronico* on "Blood and Fire in the Mediterranean," dealing with the torpedoing of the British oil tanker Woodford. Even the comic strips have become war-minded. Weekly the terrible tale is unrolled, in rhymed couplets and color, of "Don Tadeo Bergante, Un fascista repugnante."

But if the war has permeated 90 per cent of the newsprint, some pages still remain untouched by it. In one of the new weeklies, between two articles on The Magnificent Discipline of the Republican Army and The New Workers' Institute in Valencia, appears a fiction serial entitled "Marion: Neither Maid, Wife, nor

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Widow." Marion is a pure anachronism. She hails taxis and wears evening dresses, two things that might belong to the Stone Age, so vanished are they from the Madrid of today. Even the daily papers leave a corner open to matters outside the war. The siege of Gijon, the speeches of Dr. Negrin in Geneva, the problems of evacuation and food, the machinations of the "Fifth Column," the disputes of the C. N. T. and the U. G. T. occupy the news and editorial columns. But you can still turn to the back page of *El Liberal* and find an agony column overflowing with ardor. "Single lady, serious, would like to become acquainted with gentleman of position and education." "Gentleman, thirty-eight, cultivated, well-employed, would like to become acquainted, object matrimony, with lady thirty to thirty-five, not tall, good-natured." That is the quality of Madrid. A year of siege and shells has shattered the surface of life, but underneath the old wheels are still turning. Life conforms to civil war where it must and clings to the old ways where it can.

BARBARA WERTHEIM

Fresh and Free

FREE SPEECH AND PLAIN LANGUAGE. By Albert Jay Nock. William Morrow and Company. $3.

"TO REVIEW the *chose jugée*, to reopen questions that mere use-and-wont had led us to regard as definitively closed, and let one's consciousness play over them freely: there are few exercises more exhilarating than this." Mr. Nock, as one might expect, is a gentleman of culture after Matthew Arnold's heart. For the essential of culture is not to "know the best that has been thought and said in the world," but through that knowledge to turn a stream of fresh and free thought upon our stock notions. There never is a *chose jugée* in science: Einstein is open to revision, just as Newton was. I grew to conscious manhood at the time of the Dreyfus case, and have kept an invincible diffidence of the *chose jugée* ever since. I want the Sacco and Vanzetti case, the Mooney-Billings case, reopened; most of all I want to revise the muddle-headed judgment that declared Woodrow Wilson guilty and William Randolph Hearst a spirit of pure light. Our successful rebellion against England and the unsuccessful war for Southern independence need thorough reappraisal. The supremacy of the Graeco-Latin classics calls for a challenge: "Il est des morts qu'il faut qu'on tue." And I crave for an impartial history of the revolt of the angels, from the Luciferian point of view.

Free thought, free speech, plain language—a most admirable program. Utopian, of course; no one can reopen all cases, including the elementary principles of arithmetic, morality, and grammar. And our freest thought is imitative; our wildest surmise can usually be proved to be cribbed from some teacher, neighbor, or ancient book. Free thought is only the quest for free thought—honest thought. And the most honest thinking is not necessarily the most valuable or the most exhilarating. There are honest intellects which are dreadfully dull. This of course does not apply to Mr. Nock, who—to borrow Napoleon III's only recorded witticism—is polished, and reflects.

The fruit of Mr. Nock's free thought is an arraignment of American civilization, root and branch: democracy, education, the profit motive. He comes perilously near adding the accepted sexual code to his list of idols to be shattered; and although he observes the ultimate taboo, he is more respectful of Marcus Aurelius than he is of Jehovah.

Such iconoclasm, per se, is not novel. Mr. Nock's gospel has been expounded, in recent years, by Ortega y Gasset, Joseph Wood Krutch, and Aldous Huxley, among others. It is familiar to all minds that are not primitive, and, at third or fourth hand, to the rest of the world as well. It would fail to horrify even a congregation of Nicholas Murray Butlers; it would only be applauded as cleverly paradoxical. There is a quality in every brand of thought which counts for more than the brand itself. I may prefer Vouvray to Riesling, and yet prize good Riesling far above bad Vouvray. What is the special Nockian flavor in these eighty thousand words?

There are some things that Mr. Nock puts more convincingly than most of his fellow-apostles of sweetness and light. He makes it clear that we have a privileged class—and what privileges we have heaped upon it! But we have deprived it of the one privilege that would turn it into a genuine aristocracy—*noblesse oblige*, freedom from the profit motive. He makes it clear that America's enormous industrial development never was the result of rugged individualism but of a socialism placed at the service of a few, in the form of monopolies, subsidies, and tariffs. He has an interesting theory about the economic situation of women and its bearing on the ancient war of the sexes. He has satisfied himself that women own 41 per cent of this country's wealth and dispose of more than 50 per cent of its spending power; so that they no longer need to trade in their femininity. Perhaps he does not distinguish clearly enough between ownership and control. Ownership, that god of the French bourgeoisie, is a minor factor in modern economics. The Pennsylvania Railroad may be *owned* by a majority of women; it remains an overwhelmingly masculine enterprise.

On the question of the "mass man," Mr. Nock is hardly more definite than his guide, Ortega y Gasset, whose thought is a model of finely shaded confusion. The mass man is not, he tells us, the proletarian; there are mass men on great executive boards and at the head of mighty universities. The mass man is a convenient fiction. Every man, even an urbane essayist, caught in a mob, will be for the moment swayed by mob psychology. Even in the seclusion of our study we are all mass men nine-tenths of the time. I admit that the earth is round, that there are two different sexes, that some men have a darker skin than others, without serious challenge; such tame conformity is the essence of mass thinking. On the other hand, every man from the bootblack to Einstein has some technical knowledge which he derives from immediate experience; in that field he is no longer a mass man but a master. Every sophisticate who accepts the shibboleths of his clique is a mass man. Every tired business man who has the courage to confess that a best seller bores him reveals, on that occasion, an individual mind. "Mass man" is among the worst of those "impostor-words" that Mr. Nock denounces, after Jeremy Bentham.

What does he have to propose? A foolish question perhaps. He would tell us that he does not feel obliged to propose anything. Still, he does have a nostrum to sell. He has his Utopia, much as he condemns—like all his masters—the very notion of Utopia. His New Deal might be reduced to these terms: (1) Strict anarchism; even the guaranty by the state of individual property in land is an unwarrantable intrusion of that arch enemy. Better have a few throats slit in Whitechapel than submit to the permanent and ubiquitous evil of a police; gang-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sters and kidnappers are less harmful than G-men. (2) Return to the good old classical curriculum for an élite. The Golden Age would be appreciably nearer if the Saving Remnant took to writing Alcaics again. (3) The nearest approach to an ideal government is found in Portugal (here called Amenia): a "simon-pure military despotism: it governs by general orders," and efficiently supports Franco. The mass men possibly like it; at least there was some kind of a plebiscite, which, he tells us, "may have been on the level or not." The remnant prefer to live elsewhere.

Mr. Nock has fulfilled his purpose: he has moved us to think and speak freely. I may add that the second half of his title, "Plain Language," is justified in a more literal sense than I expected. We were threatened with "classic American prose"—and I shuddered at the thought. I found instead that Mr. Nock could write, especially in the three essays on Women, a language understanded of the people—in the pool parlor, the barber shop, and the Pullman smoker. And in the village rectory as well: what a joy it was to find my venerable friend "Tell it not in Gath," which I had never expected to come across again!

ALBERT GUERARD

Death on the Veldt

THE TURNING WHEELS. By Stuart Cloete. Houghton Mifflin Company. $2.50.

THE merit of Mr. Cloete's romance lies wholly in its landscape and in the sweep of its action. The time (1836-1840) is that of the Great Trek from Cape Colony when thousands of Boers, outraged by the English, moved north into an unknown country and fought for their lives with disease, insects, wild beasts, Kafirs, and Zulus. There have been Cloetes in South Africa since the seventeenth century, and one Henry Cloete, who in the 1850's lectured at Pietermaritzburg on the motives behind the Great Trek, remains an authority on the subject. Now another Cloete, born in Paris and educated in England and wounded in the World War, has spent fifteen years on a South African farm and emerged with a romance about the agonies of his ancestors.

It is an achievement. Rarely has a world been presented with such energy and opulence, at any rate on its physical side. As the wagon train led by Hendrik van der Berg creaks over plains and mountain ranges on its way to the promised land, we quite concretely see, smell, hear, touch, and taste the Transvaal. I have no means of knowing whether it is the "true" Transvaal. Probably it is a land that blooms and waves in Mr. Cloete's imagination alone. But its existence there is veritable, and certainly the vigor with which it exists will be exciting to any reader's mind. Mr. Cloete has weighted his style with local and technical words: kloof, spoor, trek, laager, outspan, inspan, achter slach, voorslach, duiker ram, koodoo, kameel, and blesbok. These broad-bottomed terms keep the narrative close to the earth of its choice, and produce a quality of sound that is proper in every sense to an environment of leather, joined wood, ox thighs, and meat-headed men pursuing their Biblical vision. Yet Mr. Cloete's eventual triumph is more than a linguistic one. He has brought a vast and terrible land to life; his fertility in the invention of actions suitable to this land has been inexhaustible. The various incidents of the trek itself, the wanderings of Zwart Piete and his sister Sara through fabulous regions beyond the limits of the tale, the wars with the Kafirs and the Zulus, the raid on Canaan, and finally the extermination of Hendrik's people in their laager—these are but central to a hundred other doings which run out and interweave to make a close net of action under the dark sky of fate.

It is an achievement, and these are its limits. There are other important things which Mr. Cloete has not been able to do. He has desired, it would seem, to give his people human stature; and he has failed. Their stature is great, but they are not men and women with the power to touch our native sympathies. Mr. Cloete has made much of a philosophical fat woman, Tante Anna de Jong, who sits and contemplates the spectacle with what is presented as wisdom. Tante Anna, however, is no more convincing than the romantic animals—Hendrik, Piete, Sannie, Sara—who have been created to walk and ride this special earth of Mr. Cloete's. Their passions are literary, particularly their sexual passions. They mate; they have loins and seed; the women are vessels; the men are abstract progenitors, Dutchmen in rut. So they cannot be taken very seriously; and so the extermination of them in the last chapter is not the tragedy it could have been had Mr. Cloete's imagination been as much at home in human nature as it was among the buffaloes and the hartebeests, or as it was in the deep grass of the veldt out of which he has summoned so many species of impersonal and terrifying death.

MARK VAN DOREN

"Lion in the Lute"

THE MAN WITH THE BLUE GUITAR AND OTHER POEMS. By Wallace Stevens. Alfred A. Knopf. $2.

THE two volumes which have followed Mr. Stevens's "Harmonium" will have prepared his readers for the change of "instrument" to which the present title refers. One need not, to be sure, urge too humorlessly the inferences which remain to be drawn from the titles of "Harmonium" and "The Man with the Blue Guitar," yet it would be a mistake to overlook them. Like many virtuosos, Mr. Stevens commands a variety of instruments; his poems have always carried with them musical rubrics in the way of bells, chimes, claviers, viols, tambourines, and trombones, and in the actual mimicry of rhythms to suggest these instruments. It should be borne in mind, therefore, that the harmonium, a reed instrument resembling a small organ, is commonly united to music which is formal, hymnal, and broadly reflective, while the guitar, a folk instrument of accompaniment, is best employed in the freely associative and informal personal revery.

In exchanging the one for the other as a symbol for the poetic imagination, in the present volume, Mr. Stevens has undoubtedly meant to indicate more than a shift in musical timbre alone. In all probability the Peter Quince of "Harmonium" still holds the key to the score in his avowal that "Music is feeling, then, not sound," while the symbolists are responsible for the coupling of sound with color. The "blue guitar" is thus a completely functional conception, although it serves the poet's decorative scheme admirably: in his own words, "The blue guitar And I are one," and "the color [is] like a thought that grows Out of a mood." The import of that mood one is reluctant to declare too broadly, since Stevens himself has been careful to hide behind his instrument.

> I know my leaden, lazy twang
> Is like the reason in a storm
>
> And yet it brings the storm to bear.
> I twang it out and leave it there.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In general, however, it is a mood of equivocal and tentative surmise, in which a single perception is thrown out, like a lyrical theme, and—to wrench a word out of context—*revolved* within a melodic pattern.

Mr. Stevens has defined that perception for us none too clearly in a brief prose note as the "conjunctioning between things as they are and things imagined." It might more helpfully be described simply as the search for artistic identity at a time when the poet is compelled to examine that identity critically, in terms of a changing world-spirit. It might be further explained that "things as they are" connote for Mr. Stevens not merely poetic realism in the abstract but poetic contemporaneity; while "things imagined" are a category within the poetic function itself, the prerogative whereby "Things as they are Are changed upon the blue guitar" into the artist's personal vision—are, in short, transmuted into his own identity, or what Hopkins preferred to call his "inscape." Mr. Stevens's dilemma, voiced again and again in the poem, is at last how far the artist need forgo the imaginative function to

> Live in war, to live at war
> To chop the sullen psaltery
>
> To improve the sewers in Jerusalem
> To elecrify the nimbuses.

His solution, if it may be called such, is that of complete autonomy, allied to an awareness of the world in which the sensibilities are at work:

> Nothing must stand
>
> Between you and the shapes you take
> When the crust of shape has been destroyed.
>
> You as you are? You are yourself.
> The blue guitar surprises you.

It must be noted again that the logic and the music of the poem are indistinguishable—that the former is, indeed, simply a theme for instrumentation, and is not so much developed as *strummed*. Throughout the whole of the poem Mr. Stevens has duplicated with uncanny variety of touch the effects of plucked, percussive twanging. The strings are variously "jangling," "buzzing," "chattering," and the lines vibrate with wiry undertones, crossing and recrossing in rhythms so delicately syncopated that they pass almost for echoes. Included in the volume also is a well-tailored reprinting of Mr. Stevens's "Owl's Clover," which has already received comment in these pages, and the strangely muted and moving The Men That Are Falling, which received *The Nation's* poetry award last October. A brief sequence of four lyrics under the title of A Thought Revolved completes the collection and is noteworthy only as an experiment in discord which is likely to set the reader's teeth on edge.

BEN BELITT

Picture of Labor

WHEN LABOR ORGANIZES. By Robert R. R. Brooks. Yale University Press. $3.

THERE has long been a need for a systematized account of the complex and seemingly scattered phenomena of the labor movement, a kind of blueprint that would lay bare the basic structure and the interrelationships. We read often enough these days of the strike, the labor spy, the check-off, "hell-fare" work, the union label, employee-representation plans, the closed shop, the labor injunction, the

Lloyd George says

"I HAVE BEEN reading a book which I commend to those who would like to know what is really happening and has happened in Spain. It is written by the most distinguished of all the modern Spanish writers, Senor Ramon Sender. It has been translated by a very learned Oxford Professor, Sir Peter Chalmers Mitchell. It is beautifully written." — *The Rt. Hon. Lloyd George in the House of Commons.*

Counter-Attack in Spain

HERE IS A book born on the battlefield and written under fire.

SENDER IS A Spaniard who has fought with the loyalists from the first days of the revolt — and is still fighting. He has been in the trenches, he has led forlorn hopes, he has tightened his belt on wooded hills cut off from supplies and under constant attack, he has listened at night in silent houses for the great bombers coming to unload their cargoes of death above him.

IN THE FACE of all odds — country bleeding, comrades killed, wife and brother murdered by the rebels — Sender allows no despair to enter his writing. His book is a revelation of what journalism can never give — the emotion and the reality beneath the surface of great events; such a book as can only come once in a century when a great novelist is plunged into the blazing fury of a civil war.

$3.00

BY RAMON J. SENDER

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TWO THIEVES WERE ORDERED TO ROB THIS MAN EVERY TIME THEY SAW HIM

THE man was indignant enough when his pocket was picked for $158, but before the two *cannons* (pickpockets) were brought to trial he had been "fixed"—for $200, which gave him a nice little profit. The judge was infuriated, but could do nothing but release the thieves with that extraordinary command!

What does a professional thief think of our "law-abiding" society —of our "honesty" when the only people he beats at con games are those trying to get money at somebody else's expense?

No personal "confessions," no diatribe against society, this book is startling in its detailed account of the *working methods* of pickpockets, shoplifters, confidence men—the mental aristocrats of the underworld. Written by a successful thief of 20 years' practice, verified by four other expert thieves and two ex-detectives, this sociological study is one of the most important books about crime ever published, and reads more thrillingly than a novel!

At bookstores, $2.50

THE PROFESSIONAL THIEF

By a Professional Thief
Annotated by Edwin H. Sutherland
Professor of Sociology, Indiana University

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS

C.I.O.

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM IN ACTION

BY

J. Raymond Walsh
(Late of the Department of Economics, Harvard University)

The C. I. O. has been characterized by a leading English journal as "one of the two or three most significant events in the world. It is undertaking to organize unprecedented numbers of workers into an effective economic and political instrument in the strongest capitalistic nation ever known." In this extremely lucid survey, Professor Walsh gives an account of its history, aims and leadership in relation to the American labor movement, past and present. $2.50

W. W. NORTON & CO. 70 Fifth Ave., N. Y.

yellow-dog contract, labor racketeering, back-to-work movements, and so on. But seldom are we able to fit all the segments together into one complete picture and to see each fact in its place. This comprehensive view Robert R. R. Brooks gives us in "When Labor Organizes." Beginning with the elementary procedure of organizing a group of workers into a local union, he takes us from problem to problem as it might arise in actual experience, until finally we are led not only to survey the entire labor movement, but also to speculate upon the direction of that movement in American society. The value of this book has been enhanced by the skill with which it has been organized and written. It is popular in the best sense of the word—informal, simple, clear, interesting, and yet thoughtful.

Up to the concluding chapter the approach of "When Labor Organizes" is empirical. Shunning the temptations of ethical judgment, it holds itself rigorously to a detached description of the workings of the labor movement, shying away from "absolutes" and "symbols" with an almost allergic violence. This approach is valuable for exposing the core of interests (class interests) in such symbols as "loyal workers" and "citizens' committees," or in such absolutes as the "freedom" of the worker to accept or reject work and the "right" to own and control property. Moreover, the empirical approach, despite its effort to avoid judgment by preconceived standards, does furnish us with the materials for evaluation, and even with a method. Because of the close tie between the empirical approach and the pragmatic judgment, we are soon brought to appraise phenomena by whether they are practical, by whether they work here and now. Thus we are able to grasp the significance and momentum of the C. I. O. in representing "another effort in the long history of the labor movement to make the forms and the methods of organization conform to the necessities of industrial life." In the same way we can judge craft unionism by its failure to organize the unorganized workers and its adherence to anachronistic demarcations.

On the other hand, the empirical approach of this book might well be complemented by the theoretical approach. If we begin, for example, with such a verified hypothesis as the class struggle, we have a point of reference that enables us to understand immediate manifestations and, more important, to *predict* their outcome. We can see the fundamental class interest underlying the anti-unionism of the employer, and trace to it such secondary motivations as his unwillingness to have anyone tell him how to run his business, or his refusal to let outsiders interfere with his obligations to investors, or his feeling of *noblesse oblige*. I do not want to be misunderstood. "When Labor Organizes" begins with the peripheral facts but does reach this central hypothesis. Beneath its presentation of immediate concrete problems the abstraction of the class struggle, the "skull beneath the skin," becomes steadily more visible. I would not want this excellent book changed, although I might like to see it supplemented by a theoretical account that would give a longer view.

In his concluding chapter, The Labor Movement in an Evolving Society, Professor Brooks gives open expression to the judgments that are implied throughout the book. The social scientist must do more than observe and report. "Common sense demands that the laws of human behavior be used for the attainment of social well-being." The chapter is devoted to answering two questions that arise: What is social well-being; and how is it to be attained? Social well-being is here defined as the maximum production and distribution of goods and services. With this definition few persons,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

whether conservative, liberal, or radical, are likely to disagree. The quarrel arises usually out of the means of attainment that are suggested. Professor Brooks believes in the labor movement as the nucleus or instrument of social and economic change. It must bring about change—as it already has modified our concept of "property"—not through altruism, but through the pressure of low wages, unemployment, insecurity, and the like. Fortunately, the interest of "those who work with their hands or minds for wages or salaries," those who constitute the bulk of the population, is most likely to coincide with the best community interest. "Their self-interest leads toward the fullest possible production and distribution of goods and services, the provision of leisure and the kind of satisfactions that leisure makes possible, and the preservation of the civil liberties." Here, I believe, lies the hope for human progress.

SAMUEL YELLEN

Mail-Order Movie

THE CHUTE. By Albert Halper. The Viking Press. $2.50.

I AGREE with all those people who have found Albert Halper reminiscent of Dickens, but I won't labor the point. Possibly a more interesting point is that we have to go all the way back to Dickens to find a novelist with Halper's zest and energy, his rapid characterizing power, and his enormous love for his people. Whatever their virtues, other writers today seldom seem to be standing waist-high in living as they write: they stay scrupulously on the sidelines, or press heatedly toward the center, or look aggrievedly or sentimentally backward, or gaze prophetically ahead; they probe, they analyze, they incite, they correlate, they conjecture. All this is frequently excellent, and it would be excellent if Halper had more of it. But what he does have is useful too, the more so because it is rare; there ought to be at least one novelist standing at the Fifth Avenue and Forty-second Street of this world—and not *standing* there either, but darting in and out of traffic, peering at buses and taxis and license tags, eyeing the traffic cop, helping a blind man across the street, reading faces, noting the relationship between couples who pass by, sniffing the breeze and tasting the smoke and knowing exactly what it means to be alive.

For though Halper may know no more than most of us—and far less than certain other novelists—what it means to live, he knows to a supreme degree what it means to be alive. He knows the speed and shape and size of things, the whole area of human sensations, in their dense, raw, actual living state; and he conveys them with great immediacy, before they are toned down or planed away in the fashion of more deliberate art. He conveys them, moreover, in whole scenes and sequences of scenes; there is never any lack of visual integration. He conveys them, no less, in a highly dramatic manner; there is never any lack of story or suspense.

All this was apparent in "The Foundry," and it is even more apparent in "The Chute"—a comparable story, but a better one. "The Chute" has to do with life in a Chicago mail-order house, and once started, it roars straight ahead. You see merchandise picked off shelves at top speed, rushed to the wrapping tables, piled on trucks; then bells start clanging, the trucks go flying across the floor, and their contents are flung down the huge chute. You see youngsters—to save time—careening on roller skates. You see kids drawing on their last ounce of energy to meet the demands of speed-up and overtime: snatching, rounding corners, half dancing in

The Folklore of Capitalism

By THURMAN W. ARNOLD

"The FOLKLORE OF CAPITALISM carries on the magnificent thesis of the SYMBOLS OF GOVERNMENT, with a broader and more mature approach, with a wealth of telling illustrations. Many leading citizens named in the bond will squirm to be caught red handed peddling verbal applesauce. Heigho! Let 'em squirm. This isn't their world exclusively. We live in it too."—*Stuart Chase.* $3.00

When Labor Organizes

By ROBERT R. R. BROOKS

"A picture and interpretation of the great labor upheaval which displays brilliance in exposition and mastery of factual material."—*Selig Perlman* in *The Saturday Review of Literature.* Here are the facts on what actually happens when workers organize. Clear, objective, this book presents the story behind the La Follette Committee investigations, behind the headlines of Harlan County and Remington Rand, and the split between the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O.; with an explanation of the reasons for sit-downs and stay-ins, for the use of private detectives and the counter-espionage of labor unions. Illustrated. $3.00

YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS
New Haven, Connecticut
Publishers of THE YALE EDITION OF HORACE WALPOLE'S CORRESPONDENCE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Nation *and* Readers Digest

one year of both $6.00 *separately* $8

SUBSCRIPTIONS MAY BE NEW OR RENEWAL AND MAY BE MAILED TO DIFFERENT ADDRESSES.

The Nation *and* Harpers Magazine

one year of both $6.50 *separately* $9

SUBSCRIPTIONS MAY BE NEW OR RENEWAL AND MAY BE MAILED TO DIFFERENT ADDRESSES.

ORDER FORM

The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York City

Please enter orders for the following magazines for one year. ☐ I enclose $ OR ☐ I will pay in 30 days.

Magazines *Send to*

11-6-37

the aisles, then flopping to eat their lunch and get back their breath simultaneously. You see big shots from upstairs swooping down on surprise visits to catch anybody from a new boy to a department head in a mistake. Above all, you see hiring, firing, hiring, firing—endlessly.

The whole atmosphere bears down on you with its day-in, day-out quality, yet with something intensely dynamic also. But Halper has tried to draw more than a picture: he has opened the lives of his people, taken us into their homes, let us feel their emotions, their good-will, their resentment, their youth. In most cases the characters remain, in E. M. Forster's inevitable phrase, flat; and Halper—he is nowhere more like Dickens than in this—often shamelessly sentimentalizes them. But if they are sometimes badly drawn, they always seem a genuine part of humanity.

Halper has further attempted a difficult thing—the business of making these kids become slowly class-conscious. The two or three social-minded workers talk to them guardedly, at odd moments, under cover; the kids slowly respond to the idea of a union. Nothing is allowed to happen, for though conditions are ripe, the ranks aren't well enough organized; and Mr. Halper's restraint is some evidence of his understanding. For the reader, the whole vicious atmosphere is to some extent softened by the bounce and swing of Halper's style of writing. Even as his workers are fainting in the aisles, he creates so spirited a picture that you are momentarily tempted to feel that everybody is having a good time. So far as that goes, the bosses are shrewd enough to appeal to the pride and sporting qualities and I-can-take-itness of their workers, and the appeal is usually successful; for it is only by transforming their jobs into a kind of game that the kids can stand the pace. Halper has soundly exposed such wily exploitation, but I still think that, over and above this, the whole tone of his book is a little too vivacious. Just as Jane Austen drew bores who entertain us, so Halper creates intolerable scenes which are exhilarating. His style for one thing lacks modulation; it is a racing spout, excellent for narrative, but too unprecise and headlong for analysis. Nor do his characters ever reveal those surprising turns of thought and action by which they stand out ineffaceably as individuals; there is no psychological subtlety in Halper's people. "The Chute" most reminds you perhaps—and not in too pejorative a sense—of a good movie; it has the same directness, the same pictorial quality, the same dependence on tempo, the same ability to communicate simple emotional moods. Yet beyond that there is a warm-heartedness, an attitude toward humanity, which proclaims the one-man job; no studio job, combining the reactions of many minds, could have quite the same unforced unity of feeling.

LOUIS KRONENBERGER

Shorter Notices

EVERYDAY SCIENCE. By A. W. Haslett. Alfred A. Knopf. $2.75.

From a perusal of the press reports on science the layman must get the impression that discovery disproving discovery is the continuous sequence in this latest and most-publicized branch of human activity. The connection between these discoveries and daily events is seldom explained in a way to make their significance clear to readers not versed in the subject—though one notable exception is the reporting of Waldemar Kaempffert in the New York *Times*. The sequence by which a discovery leads to a practical application, which leads in turn to further discovery, has been so little understood that

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

both in England and in America there have been requests for a holiday in science. The demand that application be allowed to catch up with theory does not take into consideration the parentage of theory; and the connection between the two, which the eloquent but poorly informed often miss, needs to be pointed out. The writer of this book quietly but definitely settles the issue. He has written not of the frontier of discovery but of the underlying theories and practical applications that have resulted in such everyday objects as your refrigerator or your sixty-watt bulb. The discovery of the rare gases—helium, neon, argon—which came out of the theoretical research in atomic weights, is tied with admirable simplicity to their application in such totally unrelated fields as dirigibles, advertising signs, and electric light. The book might have been written from the armchair with the author turning his eye and ear to various objects in common use that man buys but seldom understands. If the reader thinks that such a book will lack interest, let him try to explain to his ten-year-old son how his refrigerator works. "Everyday" science makes good reading. HUGH H. DARBY

LOST HERITAGE. By Bruno Frank. Translated by Cyrus Brooks. The Viking Press. $2.50.

In one of his earlier novels Bruno Frank, at that time one of the prophets of a self-adoring cultural Europe whose heart was presumed to be Germany, solemnly warned his generation of the coming of the new barbarians, the Americans, bent on ruining civilization by foisting upon it the coarse ideals of a money-mad materialism. The rude shock given to his idealism by the Nazi triumph has impelled him to write this, his second political novel. But despite the clarity and polish of its prose, easily recognizable through an excellent translation, despite the fine restraint and subtlety of the feelings described in it, "Lost Heritage" is ineffective. The movement and the characters which it depicts have no roots in the world of today and seem merely the outpourings of a bewildered intellect. Dismayed by a reality which he can neither explain nor fight against, Mr. Frank has sought solace in the traditions of idealized royalty and the nobility. "The gentry, with all their pride, how can they put up with it?" asks one of the several characters who speak the author's mind. Hence a prince is chosen to symbolize the ardent belief that the gentry cannot and should not put up with it, though they may fail in their rebellion. A prince, too, is chosen to fall in love and find happiness with the daughter of a Jewish victim of Hitlerism to signify the alliance of the most exalted protector with the most despised oppressed, both of whom have lost their rightful heritage under the rule of "brazen-voiced vulgarity and national humbug." LOUIS RICH

POEMS. By Ross Edwards Pierce. The Arcturus Press. $1.50.

The majority of these poems have appeared in periodicals in America and England. Under one cover they give a stronger testimony to Mr. Pierce's technical versatility. Though still young, he is to a degree a poet's poet. He has plainly assimilated some of the happy, riotous ear-pounding of Hopkins and some of the flat acerbity of Masters. He has certainly studied all his contemporaries from Eliot to Auden. That is not to say that his work is slavishly derivative. Such good pieces as The World, Clerk, and Dirge for Civilization display individual imagery and strangeness. But the general effect of the volume is of uneven work—nicely contrived rather than written out of any necessity. STANLEY YOUNG

UNEMPLOYMENT
IN THE
LEARNED PROFESSIONS
An International Study
of Occupational and Educational Planning
By Walter M. Kotschnig

The first attempt to deal in a comprehensive way and on an international scale with a problem of paramount importance for the cultural, social and political evolution of society. $3.50

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, 114 Fifth Ave., N.Y.

THEATERS

THE THEATRE GUILD *presents*
The ALFRED LUNT and LYNN FONTANNE
Production of JEAN GIRADOUX'S COMEDY
AMPHITRYON 38
Adapted by S. N. BEHRMAN
with ALFRED LUNT LYNN FONTANNE
and a distinguished cast
SHUBERT THEA., 44th St., W. of Broadway. Evgs. 8:30 Mats. THURS. & SAT., 2:30. 300 Seats $1.10

BEN HECHT'S NEW PLAY
TO QUITO AND BACK
with
SYLVIA SIDNEY LESLIE BANKS
and a distinguished cast
GUILD THEATRE, 52nd Street, West of Broadway Matinees THURS. and SAT., 2:30. Evgs. 8:30

SCHOOL

FREE *Correspondence Course in*
Fundamental Economics and Social Philosophy
Write for descriptive booklet N
HENRY GEORGE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE
Chartered by University of State of New York
JOHN DEWEY, Honorary President
211 West 79th St., New York City

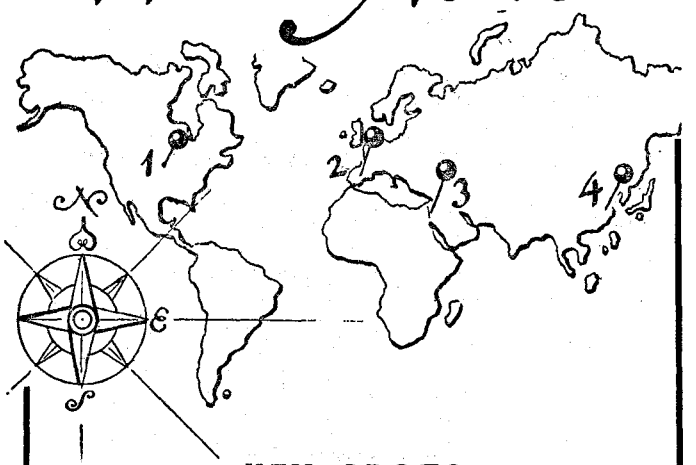
NOW you may order
BOOKS
from THE NATION

At the request of many readers who reside in communities in which no bookshop has been established, *The Nation* now offers to deliver any book to your door at the regular publisher's price (postfree) providing payment is received with the order or publisher's price plus postage if sent C.O.D.

Please address your orders to
The Readers' Service Division
The Nation • 20 Vesey Street • New York

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Key to the Week's World News



KEY SPOTS

1. U. S.: Vigilante groups "defend labor."
2. Spain: Mussolini "rebels" against the Loyalists.
3. Palestine: Britain "protects" the Jews and Arabs.
4. China: Japan invades China for friendship's sake.

You read the news, but can you read behind it? Can you take events that happen continents apart and fit them into a connected picture of the world situation? Here are two things you need: a map of the world to follow the news on; a subscription to the *New Masses*. Its fearless reporting, its Marxian analyses equip you to evaluate, to understand—yes, even to predict world news. . . . Get both for $1.

NOW—2 magazines in 1 *at no extra cost*

NEW—a monthly LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

Beginning December 7 issue and to be edited jointly by

MICHAEL GOLD — GRANVILLE HICKS
HORACE GREGORY — JOSHUA KUNITZ

To feature: original creative work in prose and poetry, critical essays, literary letters from abroad, studies of literary personalities and discussions of questions of Marxist Culture.

To be bound separately—but issued with *New Masses* at *no extra cost*. . . . Subscribe now—be sure to get this first double issue, dated December 7.

NEW MASSES $1
FOR 12 WEEKS AND A HANDY HAMMOND WORLD MAP (18" x 24") FREE

NEW MASSES, 31 East 27th St.
New York City, N. Y.

Enclosed you will find $1 (money order, check, or stamps preferred) for a 12-week subscription to the *New Masses* and a Hammond World Map FREE.

Name .....

Address .....

City..... State.....

Occupation .....N

DRAMA

Faith and Works

"MANY MANSIONS" (Biltmore Theater) is the story of a young clergyman who loses all faith, not in the God he serves, but in the institution which employs him. Elaborate production, capable acting, and an air of passionate conviction in the writing itself, all suggest that the authors, Jules Eckert Goodman and his son, have a more than ordinary confidence in the importance of the message they have to convey. Yet "Many Mansions" suffers from a grave defect: it labors to establish a thesis which few would reject while it barely suggests the only related theme likely to arouse any interest at this particular moment.

Surely it is worth no one's while to prove in twelve careful, almost diagrammatic, scenes that the religious establishments of today are tinged with worldliness or that a young man who scorns the accepted conventions and defies the usual proprieties will find the going extremely hard. Yet that is nearly all that this particular play undertakes to show, and it would require no great prophetic insight to guess that the hero comes his final cropper in a settlement chapel when he takes the side of the outcasts around him against the forces of law and order. The only question worth disputing, the only one which people who go to theaters today would be likely to dispute, is the question which begins where "Many Mansions" leaves off.

Perhaps the Messrs. Goodman merely mean to imply what is now the conventional answer. Perhaps they mean to say that religion is too feeble a force to oppose itself to a social system which is fundamentally unchristian. Perhaps, in other words, they are convinced that a young man of high ideals would be out of place, not merely in a particular church, but in all conceivable churches. I suspect, however, that they do not mean anything of the sort, for they would hardly have made their clergyman so attractive a figure or laid so much stress upon his purely spiritual ardor if they had meant to suggest merely that such spiritual ardor was of no value as long as it remained essentially Christian, and that what he needed was less knowledge of the Bible plus some slight acquaintance with "Das Kapital."

If I am right in this, then their error is a curious one, for it consists essentially in failing to see where the real conflict lies. The struggle between their hero and the church is beside the point, and the struggle they really need to show is the struggle between him and opponents equally sincere as well as equally alive, a struggle, in other words, between materialism on the one hand (it would make little difference whether the materialist was of the Rooseveltian, Landonian, Walter Lipmannesque, or Marxian variety) and mysticism on the other. Few still argue that what is wrong with the world is not economic injustice but the hardness of heart which makes economic injustice possible. It is very widely assumed as nearly self-evident that it is the economic system which makes hard hearts rather than hard hearts which make the economic system. But it is still possible at least to argue the opposite, and I cannot see why the Messrs. Goodman should have written this particular play at all if that were not essentially their position. If they would argue it with a passion equal to that which seems wasted here upon an all too familiar theme they might make an exciting play. As it is they are merely slaying the slain.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Letters to the Editors

A Matter of Character

Dear Sirs: As a supporter of the President and of the New Deal who opposed the President's court plan, I resent your assumption that the majority of those opposing or criticizing the appointment of Justice Black are actuated by "racial and religious feeling" and "a dangerous and vindictive determination . . . to hound" him "from the court." From your editorial comments in *The Nation* of October 2 and the *apologia pro sua vita* by one of your editors, Mr. Lerner, it would seem that you do not understand the real basis of criticism of the Justice. It is not his capacity, his views, his record in the Senate, or even his membership in the Klan that are the essential things; it is his lack of character, demonstrated by his own admissions and reinforced by Mr. Lerner's "personal history."

1. Justice Black joined the Klan at a time when it was not a mere fraternal organization which any joiner would join but a criminal organization spreading havoc and terror through the Southern states, and Justice Black joined this organization for his own personal advantage and advancement.

2. After four years, having got what he sought by joining, he resigned.

3. On the occasion of his receiving a certificate of life membership (not denied, but called by the Justice an "unsolicited card") he made a speech declaring his admiration for the Klan (not denied or mentioned in his radio talk) —a speech which Mr. Lerner says "pulsed with a vague religionism and an overaccented brotherly love."

4. When the President offered him the nomination he failed, so far as appears, to mention to the President that he had been a member of the Klan, thinking, as Mr. Lerner puts it, that "by the side of his Senate career it was irrelevant."

5. When his name came before the Senate, and Senators Copeland and Burke stated that they were informed that he was or had been a member of the Klan, instead of stating the facts to his colleagues frankly he remained silent and permitted Senator Borah to make an ambiguous statement but for which his nomination might not have been confirmed by the Senate.

6. As soon as he was confirmed he secretly took the oath of office and the pay of a Justice, which is twice that of a Senator, and left the country.

7. When asked in London by the news men whether he was or was not a member of the Klan, he declined to answer.

8. On his return to this country, instead of answering the questions which he had refused to answer in Europe in a simple, straightforward way, he made a radio speech filled with protestations of his devotion to liberty and declaring that he numbered among his friends Jews, Roman Catholics, and Negroes, and even had a pet Jew of his own, now dead—a meeching, self-serving speech, unworthy of a judge or a gentleman. All the American people wished or had a right to know was whether or not he was or had been a member of the Ku Klux Klan.

Mr. Lerner says: "That a man like Black should have come to join the Klan is one of those facts monstrously hard to grasp until you approach it *not as a moral problem* [the italics mine] but simply as a piece of political behavior."

Many of us refuse to approach the facts of this case as disclosed by the record otherwise than as presenting a moral question, and we regard Mr. Black's record from first to last as so far below the standard of moral character essential in a judge that he is unfit to be a Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

CHARLES C. BURLINGHAM

New York, October 9

[Mr. Burlingham is eloquent but unconvincing. Admitting Justice Black's "capacity, his views, his record in the Senate," he brushes them aside as unessential, and bases his case on Justice Black's "lack of character." It is wise for him to shift his attack from the perilous ground of capacity, views, and legislative record, where the facts are objective and indisputable, to the far safer ground of "character," where facts may be interpreted exclusively in moral terms. I prefer, in politics, to stick to the objective facts. And the objective facts leave little doubt that Black is a liberal who can be trusted to exercise the judicial power in a progressive spirit.

This, it must be emphasized, has been the main basis for *The Nation's* editorial approval of Justice Black's appointment and the basis for its editorial opposition to the clamor for removing him from the court. Those who have insisted on interpreting the editorials and my article as unqualified moral defenses of Justice Black have no excuse for such an interpretation.

My article of October 9 was a statement of Justice Black's own position as I understood it to be from an interview. I was acting as a reporter, and I stated explicitly that, because of the source of the account, it was to be discounted for a degree of bias or rationalization. I did feel, however, that it was highly important, amid the clamor against Justice Black, to give a connected account of the story as he saw it. In the same issue we criticized Justice Black editorially for not having sought to explain in his radio statement his silence to the President and the Senate on the topic of his former Klan membership, and for his previous silence.

But while we took this critical position, we did not and do not believe that the moral issue is either so clear or looms so large as to invalidate Justice Black from holding judicial office. Mr. Burlingham is undoubtedly sincere in feeling as he does. But no realistic view of the campaign against Justice Black can see it in any other terms than as an attempt to use the issue in order to smear the entire New Deal program. This campaign has been able to enlist sincere liberals like Mr. Burlingham as fellow-travelers by its appeal to the symbolism of the Supreme Court, which puts Supreme Court justices on a different plane from others in high and responsible office. I see no reason for encouraging this symbolism, and every reason for regarding the Supreme Court as we regard the Senate—as a responsible part of the democratic process. If liberals regard it as such, they will not easily fall into the trap which the engineers of the anti-Black campaign set for them. And they will keep their eyes on what Mr. Burlingham so casually dismisses—Black's "capacity, his views, his record in the Senate."—MAX LERNER.]

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Dr. Lips Hits Back

Dear Sirs: Professor Melville J. Herskovits, in his review of my book "The Savage Hits Back" in *The Nation* of October 9, seems neither to know nor to appreciate the fact that Zombiism is punishable by death according to the Haitian Penal Code, Article 246, 1901. Yet he would make Zombis of the readers of *The Nation.* He implies that I endow primitive man "with a special kind of *pre*logical mentality." A most cursory examination of the book will disprove this. Neither in this book nor elsewhere have I characterized the reasoning of primitive man in this way. In "The Savage Hits Back" I refer to the "other" logic, not the "pre"-logic, of primitive man. If Mr. Herskovits denies the reality of this "other" logic, then it is for him to tell us why he does not apprehend the facts of modern civilization like a Bushman and why he indulges in "sweeping generalizations."

I can, with a sentence, dismiss his charge of my "naive lack of appreciation of the toughness of native cultures." The very title of the book suggests this "toughness," and there is hardly a single page which does not imply it.

A categorial denial by Mr. Herskovits that the making of masks originated in the worship of the dead is wholly unacceptable. He must produce evidence to support his position. According to Mr. Herskovits the results of my treatment of primitive mentality are "quite confusing," and this he attributes to my allegiance to the German-Austrian cultural-historical school of ethnology which desires "to reconstruct the history of mankind on a world-wide scale." A scientist's function is not merely that of fact-gathering. He is, or at least should be, an architect who aims to construct a building, the facts being only the bricks for that building. And for this task the anthropologist needs not only a "frame of reference" but a historical outlook.

JULIUS E. LIPS

Washington, D. C., October 25

Add to Your Boycott List

Dear Sirs: I have read with much interest the article by Jean Lyon entitled Shopping Guide for Boycotters in *The Nation* of October 23. While I realize that the list of goods to be boycotted was not presented as complete, I would suggest that you add plain and printed chiffon-silk handkerchiefs and printed rayon and cotton table covers. Both these articles are to be found very widely in the chain stores and are among the things brought over in largest quantities from Japan.

Only through economic pressure can acts of aggression by an imperialistic nation be effectively stopped.

T. FEINFELD

New York, October 26

Carrying It Too Far

Dear Sirs: Although I am in complete sympathy with your fine articles advocating the boycott as a protest against Japan's aggression in China, I want to call your attention to the cruelty with which the Japanese in California are being treated, and to express the hope that you will raise your voice against it.

In many places the Japanese are being boycotted in their attempts to sell flowers and vegetables, purely American products, through the sale of which they earn a scant living. Such treatment throws these individuals into the ranks of the unemployed, provokes bitterness and suffering, and is of no effect in curbing the war policy of the Japanese militarists. An example that has come under my direct notice is that of a Japanese, married to an American girl. They have one child. He fought in the World War and is still suffering from its effects. The markets refuse to sell him flowers, from the sale of which he was earning a living for his family, thus completely putting a stop to his income. Only through a friend's assistance has he been able to survive. His wife is in the hospital. His child was attacked by the children in a Catholic school and had two ribs broken, but nothing was done about it. Another Japanese was driven out of the public market and so badly injured that he died from the attack. These cases, undoubtedly, could be multiplied many times.

Isn't this putting ourselves on a level with Japan?

JULIA ELLSWORTH FORD

Rye, N. Y., October 27

A Rare Find

Dear Sirs: Truth is a rare find in the museum of mankind's published utterances. Philip S. Bernstein's article, The Fate of the Jews, in *The Nation* of October 23, is an example of this rare relic. His eyewitness account refutes and exposes the inspired and lying propaganda that American visitors to Germany bring back to our shores and, either in malice or ignorance, spread so widely. The streets of Nazi Germany may not show outward physical violence and persecution, but behind the scenes a cold pogrom exists in which Jews and other minorities are deprived of citizenship, livelihood, freedom, justice, peace.

JOSEPH GITIN

Butte, Mont., October 28

CORRECTION: In an editorial paragraph in last week's issue the phrase "Federal Housing Administration" was erroneously used. The whole sentence should have read: "Against the advice of most American experts the Federal Housing Authority has been made part of the Department of the Interior—'under the general supervision of the Secretary thereof,' as the law reads—instead of being given a life of its own."

CONTRIBUTORS

I. F. STONE is a New York newspaperman.

JAMES McNEIL is an Ottawa journalist.

CECIL HAZELL is an ex-red-cap turned writer.

JAMES RORTY has contributed to *The Nation* many articles on socialized medicine and medical economics.

HENRY C. WOLFE, lecturer and writer on European affairs, has recently returned from his annual trip to Central Europe.

BARBARA WERTHEIM, a member of *The Nation's* staff, has just spent several weeks in Spain.

ALBERT GUERARD, author of "Literature and Society," is professor of comparative and general literature in Stanford University.

MARK VAN DOREN has just published a new book of verse, "The Last Look and Other Poems."

BEN BELITT was co-winner with Charlotte Wilder of the Shelley Poetry Award.

SAMUEL YELLEN is the author of "American Labor Struggles."

LOUIS KRONENBERGER, editor of "An Eighteenth Century Miscellany," has recently translated the maxims of La Rochefoucauld.

INFORMATION FOR SUBSCRIBERS

THE NATION, 20 Vesey St., New York. Price, 15 cents a copy. By subscription—Domestic: One year $5; Two years $8; Three years $11. Additional Postage per year: Foreign, $1; Canadian, 50 cents. The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Dramatic Index, Index to Labor Periodicals, Public Affairs Information Service. Three weeks' notice and the old address as well as the new are required for change of address.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED